Mickey gives her top score –
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THE JERUSALEM POST

Monday, March 24, 1980

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# Shah to Egypt

PANAMA CITY, Panama. — The ailing Shah of Iran headed for Egypt yesterday, ending more than three months of exile on Panama's Contadora Island, a U.S. Embassy spokesman said. He was expected to arrive in Cairo early this morning. "We understand that the shah has departed for Cairo, accepting a long-standing invitation of President Sadat," said Robert Powers, a spokesman for the U.S. Embassy in Panama City.

Airport authorities on the posh Pacific resort of Contadora said that Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, his wife Empress Farah and six staff members left the island in a Panamanian government plane for the mainland shortly before 2 p.m. (2000GMT).

At Panama's Tocumen International Airport, the shah and his party boarded an Evergreen Airlines' DC-8 and took off for Cairo.

In Cairo, a Sadat aide instructed reporters, photographers and cameramen by telephone to come to Sadat's suburban Giza residence at 7 a.m. today.

The aide refused to divulge the reason behind the unusual summons.

A Panamanian officer, who asked not to be identified, said that White House chief of staff Hamilton Jordan, who arrived secretly on Friday to supervise arrangements for the shah's departure, left for Washington after the shah's departure. This could not be independently confirmed immediately, however.

The officer refused to give details other than to say Jordan had left aboard the same DC-140 executive jet he had come in. (Earlier story, page 4)

Reports of the shah's imminent departure came a day before Teheran was expected to file an official request for his extradition to Iran. A French lawyer representing the Iranian government flew into Panama City on Friday carrying the 450-page document in which Iran lists the charges against the former monarch and the evidence it would present at his trial.

Panamanian Foreign Minister Carlos Ozores said last week that the Teheran government had until the close of business on Monday (today) to file its extradition request.

Though Panama repeatedly has said it would "consider" the Iranian request, most observers considered it highly unlikely that Panama would agree to send the shah to Iran. Panamanian laws forbid the extradition of persons facing death sentences.

Iran's Foreign Minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh warned on Saturday that any attempt to transfer the shah from Panama would delay the release of the American hostages who yesterday began their 21st week of detention in Teheran.

Ghotbzadeh attributed attempts to move the shah to former U.S.

The ex-Shah of Iran pictured in Cuernavaca, Mexico, where he was staying in July last year. (UPI)

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and New York banker David Rockefeller, and made no mention of Jordan's presence in Panama.

Egypt was the shah's first stop in January, 1979, when the Islamic revolution forced him to leave the throne. He spent five days in Aswan as the guest of Sadat, and then flew to Morocco, before settling on Contadora December 15, the shah also spent time in the Bahamas and Mexico.

The ailing shah, 60, who was hospitalized in New York last October for gall bladder surgery and cancer treatment, also faces imminent surgery for the removal of his enlarged spleen.

An Egyptian source said that Sadat revived an old invitation to the shah out of deference to Islamic traditions and teachings. The source said it was not possible for Egypt to turn its back on the ailing monarch, at a time when other countries were refusing to accept him.

The source recalled that the Egyptian Parliament had passed a resolution last year granting the shah the right to seek political asylum in Cairo.

Sadat has often denounced the actions of Ayatollah Khomeini in Iran as a violation of Islamic teachings.

Earlier, Sadat's top spokesman, Presidential Affairs Minister Mansour Hassan, said he was not aware of the shah's impending arrival.

But Hassan was careful to say this did not amount to a denial.

President Carter's national security adviser said yesterday Egypt's decision to admit the deposed shah was an act of compassion and should not affect the fate of the American hostages in Iran.

Zbigniew Brzezinski told reporters at the White House: "There should be no connection whatsoever between the illegal detention of captives and the physical well-being of the shah."

## DM appeal to Knesset committee could foil Hebron move

# Delay expected in applying cabinet vote to settle Hebron

## Carter: Election won't stymie peace process

By WOLF BLITZER
Jerusalem Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON. — Declaring that "not only the letter but the spirit" of the Camp David agreement on Palestinian autonomy must be implemented, President Jimmy Carter yesterday pledged that "domestic politics" in the U.S. will not stand in the way of further progress towards peace this year.

At a festive White House celebration marking the first anniversary of the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty, the president made an obvious reference to the U.S. presidential elections by insisting that they "cannot be allowed to create timidity" on America's part in the intensified effort to meet the May 26 target date on the autonomy talks.

Carter also said that the U.S. political process cannot be allowed "to subvert the spirit of Camp David or imply a lack of commitment to meet our common goal."

Carter made no direct reference to yesterday's Israeli cabinet's decision to authorize Jewish settlement in Hebron. Other U.S. officials, while clearly angered by the move, said that the State Department would probably issue a public statement at today's daily news briefing.

White House officials did not want to spoil yesterday's reception, which saw some 400 U.S. officials, Jewish leaders, Israeli and Egyptian embassy officials and other civic leaders from around the country gather in the East Room.

Without breaking any new ground in explaining U.S. policy, Carter delivered a warm speech hailing the treaty and the personal "courage" of both Prime Minister Menahem Begin and President Anwar Sadat. "They are my friends," he declared.

But there were several indirect references to the remaining problems in the negotiations, apparently designed to signal the administration's determination to meet the May 26 date.

Referring to the autonomy negotiations, Carter said: "They can succeed. They must succeed."

(Continued on page 2, col. 2)

By ASHER WALLFISH
Jerusalem Post Reporter

The close cabinet decision yesterday to set up two Jewish institutions inside Hebron will probably wait until after Prime Minister Menahem Begin's trip to Washington next month for implementation.

By eight votes to six with three abstentions, the cabinet decided to establish a yeshiva in the old city and a field school for the study of the area.

But Begin agreed that execution wait until the DM ministers exercise their privilege of appeal. Under the Knesset committee, which they is allowed under the coalition agreement on all questions of settlement in the administered territories.

The lack of a sure majority for the Hebron move in the Knesset committee means that the problem must first be aired in the coalition executive. But since the coalition executive won't get around to the problem this week, the Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee won't take it up either.

The official cabinet decision was worded in a general fashion, without specifically mentioning the yeshiva and the field school, at the suggestion of Attorney-General Yitzhak Shamir. It declared that the cabinet had decided.

- "to act for the development of the Jewish courtyard complex in the Jewish Qarter of Hebron with the aim its restoration;
- "that planning of the project would not affect the rights of (Jewish) owners or their heirs, nor the parcellation into lots;
- "that the planning should be carried out so as to preserve the style and the spirit of the complex;
- "a third storey will be added onto the Hadassah building."

Voting for the proposal, which was tabled by Housing Minister David Levy were: Begin, Levy, Transport Minister Ha'im Landau, Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon and Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir, all of Herut; Education Minister Zevulun Hammer, of the NRP; Health Minister Eliezer Shostak of La'am and Finance Minister Yigael Hurvitz of Rafi.

Voting against were Likud Liberals Deputy Prime Minister Simha Ehrlich and Industry, Trade and Tourism Minister Gideon Patt, Defence Minister Ezer Weizman of Herut, and the three DM ministers: Deputy Premier Yigael Yadin, Justice Minister Shmuel Tamir and Labour and Social Affairs Minister Israel Katz.

The three abstentions were from Liberals Energy Minister Yitzhak Moda'i and Minister-without-Portfolio Moshe Nissim, and Religious Affairs Minister Aharon Abuhatseira (NRP). Interior Minister Yosef Burg was absent, hosting the U.S. autonomy negotiator Sol Linowitz.

The yeshiva, with living quarters for at least 50 students doing their military service, will be built next to the Avraham Avinu synagogue on the ruins of what was formerly called "the Jewish compound." A yeshiva existed there until 1929, when the rabbis and students were killed in the Arab pogrom which ended the Jewish presence in the sacred city.

The planning will present an intricate challenge, since the government has undertaken not to expropriate property belonging to any of the Jewish owners, and some of the owners or their heirs have reportedly objected to any use being made of their plots. Some owners will be hard, if not impossible, to trace, it is understood.

Housing Ministry officials made a rough study of the situation in the Jewish Quarter, and prepared a proposal in collaboration with the attorney-general. The proposal envisages building a total floor area of 2,000 square metres with accommodation for students and teachers.

The Avraham Avinu synagogue, already being restored by the military government, will be at the centre of the complex. The yeshiva to be built will have three storeys, and a residential building will stand

(Continued on page 2, col. 1)

U.S. chief autonomy negotiator Sol Linowitz is greeted at Ben-Gurion Airport yesterday with a carnation from girl scout who is taking part in the Tourism Ministry's "Greet a Tourist with a Smile" campaign. (Israel Sun)

## Hebron council threatens resignation

Jerusalem Post Staff

The Hebron town council last night decided to resign if the government tries to implement the decision it took yesterday to set up a yeshiva, a field school and a museum in the town.

An emergency session of the municipality also decided to call a public town meeting tonight in the municipality courtyard to protest the cabinet decision.

A general strike of all services will be called for tomorrow.

A cable sent by the city leaders to Defence Minister Ezer Weizman described the government move as the "crowning achievement in a policy of repression on the West Bank."

Mayor Fahd Kawasma summoned his city council for an emergency session after declaring his intention to combat the cabinet decision "by every peaceful means" at his disposal.

The mayor told reporters earlier in the evening that Israelis "cannot forge ahead with their penetration of Arab cities under the pretext of religion while depriving others of their elementary religious rights."

Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij told *The Jerusalem Post* last night that the cabinet decision was "short-sighted, arrogant, unproductive and explosive."

"It will increase tension and confrontation and widen the gap that already separates Arabs and Israelis in this country," he warned.

Nablus Mayor Bassam Shak'a and other West Bank mayors last night said that they had called on their councils to hold emergency meetings today to discuss what they described as Israel's "ferocious settlement onslaught on West Bank towns."

## Egypt decries Hebron vote

Jerusalem Post Staff

Egypt yesterday expressed "bitter dismay" over Israel's decision to allow the establishment of two residential religious institutions in Hebron and condemned the move as a "new violation of the letter and spirit" of the Camp David peace agreement between Cairo and Jerusalem.

A Foreign Ministry spokesman said Egypt viewed the timing of the Israeli decision as "serious" due to current efforts aimed at a new momentum for the stalled negotiations on autonomy for the *West Bank and the Gaza Strip*.

The spokesman said that the decision to allow Jewish settlers in the heart of Arab towns in the administered territories "cast more doubts on Israel's desire to help overcome the current critical phase in the autonomy negotiations."

Similar statements denouncing the cabinet decision were voiced here by Egyptian officials, including Ambassador Saad Mortada.

## Linowitz meets Begin for autonomy talks

By ANAN SAFADI
Post Mideast Affairs Editor

The U.S. presidential envoy to the autonomy negotiations, Sol Linowitz, last night launched the first of three rounds of talks with Premier Menahem Begin in an apparent American effort to break the deadlock over a self-governing authority in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

The two men are due to meet again today and tomorrow prior to the U.S. emissary's departure for Cairo for talks with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat.

Both Begin and Linowitz last night declined to divulge details on the first session, which lasted two hours. The premier's aides said only that the two men had made "a survey" of the autonomy negotiations in preparation for the upcoming separate meetings that Begin and Sadat will have with President Jimmy Carter in Washington next month.

Linowitz arrived here yesterday declaring that he was seeking "an accelerated pace of negotiations to form an agreement on the most outstanding issues" over which the autonomy talks have bogged down.

Linowitz is due to meet today with Foreign Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Interior Minister Yosef Burg, who heads Israel's team in the autonomy negotiations.

The presidential envoy's talks in Jerusalem coincided with meetings of a newly established autonomy steering committee, which is to set timetables and agendas for future plenary sessions and subcommittee conferences.

The Egyptian side on the steering committee is represented by Foreign Ministry official Ezzat Abdul-Latif, who in contrast to his past functionary role in the negotiations came yesterday as a personal envoy of Premier Mustapha Khalil, Egypt's chief autonomy negotiator. Israel is represented on the committee by the director-general of the Interior Ministry, Haim Kubersky, and the U.S. by ambassador-at-large James Leonard.

Significantly, the committee held its first meeting yesterday in Jerusalem rather than in Tel Aviv, which has been the Israeli site of autonomy negotiations.

Egypt's foreign undersecretary, Osama el-Baz, last night told Cairo's Middle East News Agency that the current negotiation posture is stressing two issues: the responsibilities of the proposed self-governing authority in the West Bank and Gaza during a five-year transitional period, and the definition of the security claims Israel sought to press beyond the troop redeployment that is stipulated in the Camp David peace accords.

Baz said Egypt hoped that "what has been actually agreed on" will be implemented. "At this stage we are only calling on the parties involved to implement what they committed themselves to. Thus we want the establishment of a Palestinian autonomous authority elected freely to exercise all the powers previously practised by the Israeli military government and its civilian administration" in the territories, he said.

In the MENA version relayed late last night, Baz made no mention of Egypt's insistence that East Jerusalem be included as a West Bank autonomy constituency.

The Foreign Ministry officer who is close to the presidential office was quoted as saying, ambiguously, that "the city can be united in a practical and human manner," adding that freedom of worship should be granted to all three monotheistic religions, and that the holy places in the city be administered by their religious leaders.

Baz was reportedly repeating Egypt's insistence that the autonomy negotiations be wrapped up on the date targeted for their completion, May 26.

Linowitz said at a press conference here yesterday that the U.S. related much importance to meeting that date, but he stressed that Washington viewed it as "a goal" rather than a deadline. Linowitz said that what is important now is to keep the momentum going.

Linowitz said yesterday that he had come here after three uneasy weeks during which Israel and the U.S. "had some disagreements" — presumably over settlement policy as well as the course of autonomy negotiations.

"Differences between us on important questions have come to the surface...we have been disappointed in one another," he said. However, he noted: "Differences and disagreements must not be allowed to compromise our mutual trust and respect or to affect our joint commitments."

## Begin reports on Sadat's letter

Jerusalem Post Reporter

Prime Minister Menahem Begin yesterday reported to the cabinet on Egyptian President Anwar Sadat's letter Friday which said he would hold Begin responsible if there is no progress in the autonomy talks by the target date of May 26.

Begin told the cabinet that he and Interior Minister Yosef Burg and Justice Minister Shmuel Tamir, would draft a reply to Sadat within a day or two. Begin has said he did not see May 26 as a deadline of any kind. He also said that he would call a special cabinet meeting for a full political debate before his departure for talks with President Jimmy Carter in Washington.

## Egypt and Israel to sign farm pact

TEL AVIV. — An "understanding" will be signed today between Israeli and Egyptian teams on agricultural cooperation.

The agreement will include provision for cooperation in agricultural research and the exchange of experts between the two countries.

The Egyptians are said to be particularly interested in exchanges relating to livestock farming. The formal agreement will have to be signed by the agriculture ministers of both countries.

It is believed that implementation of the agreement may take only a very few weeks.

Members of the Egyptian agricultural team spent the weekend in Upper Galilee as guests of Yitzhak Saleh, Agriculture Ministry coordinator for the area. The Egyptians visited Kibbutz Menara and Kibbutz Lehavot Habashan and discussed agricultural matters with farm branch managers.

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large number... positions in... areas, so that... government...
It is some... have a right... even under... live under...
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...ilil discusses ...deal with ...ul Eisenberg
...(Reuter). — Egyptian ... Minister Mustapha Khalil ... discussed a $3b. land ... project in Egypt with ... multi-millionaire ...man Shaul Eisenberg.
...berg told reporters follow... ...-hour meeting with Khalil ... presented a report on a ... study on the project, but ...ined to elaborate.
...but in our interest to talk ... this project at this initial ... Eisenberg said.
...li Israeli sources said that ...dy was completed in four ... following a meeting last Oc... ...tween Eisenberg and Presi... ...war Sadat who showed in... ...the project.
...told a recent press con... ...that the project would ...,000 acres (2m. dunam) ...Lake Manzallah near the ...nal. He also said it would ...
...proved by the Egyptian ...nent, the project would be ... joint Egyptian-Israeli ven... ...ce the signing of the peace ...etween the two countries.
...berg has extensive banking ...siness holdings in Israel and ... East.
...pt warming up ...en-Elissar
...alem Post Correspondent
... Egyptian Prime Minister Mustapha Khalil yesterday with Israel's Ambassador Ben-Elissar, amid apparent moves to counter impressions that the ambassador was getting the cold shoulder here.
...lissar is scheduled to call on ...t Anwar Sadat at the Egyptian ...der's home village of Mit ...m later this week.
...mbassador, who has been in unofficial boycott in state... ...lic circles since presenting ...dentials to Sadat on ...y 26, was recently received ...President Hosni Mubarak ...ister of State for Foreign ...Butros Ghali.
...eeting with Khalil was ...to have touched on topics ...d to the autonomy ...tions in Alexandria on ...y.
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...removes huts
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...ER-SO... ...EACE NOW ...a public to Travis, Jer... ...ling George Avenue b... ...ith the keynote: ...akers— ...between Israel and ...of: ...e Greenberg ...mhem Hacohen, MK ...Emanuel Etkin... ...day, March 23, 8.30 ...eries: ...Roads to Peace ...Speaker: Aharon Yad... ...sday, March 24, 9.0... ...Voters in Jerus... ...el Walter Davenport and ...Bellotti, on Tuesday and ...p.m., at the Cha... ...Jerusalem. Bring ... ...ship ...friends ...vote at the U.S. Cons... ...the U.S. Embassy, Tel ...Democratic ...19 Saadia ...Harold C. ...
L'CHAIM!
all at Today Food, ...ve put together a ...ah section with the ...nasis on: drink (a ...ur like a sunset); ...ng into a pickle; ...ial dishes for the glorious soup; and ...ourse, our readers' ...es.
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...bod for Pessah, ...t in tomorrow's copy of ...E JERUSALEM ...OST
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The Weather at Main

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Destinations

| | MIN. C | MIN. F° | MAX. C° | MAX. F° | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AMSTERDAM | 0 | 32 | 7 | 15 | Cloudy |
| BRUSSELS | 0 | 32 | 5 | 16 | Clear |
| BUENOS AIRES | 23 | 73 | 37 | 100 | Rain |
| CHICAGO | -5 | 22 | 3 | 10 | Snow |
| COPENHAGEN | -3 | 27 | 1 | 31 | Clear |
| FRANKFURT | 1 | 34 | 9 | 18 | Cloudy |
| GENEVA | 6 | 43 | 10 | 30 | Rain |
| HELSINKI | -13 | 9 | -3 | 27 | Clear |
| HONG KONG | 18 | 65 | 21 | 70 | Cloudy |
| JOHANNESBURG | 13 | 23 | 23 | 73 | Clear |
| LISBON | 8 | 18 | 14 | 57 | Rain |
| LONDON | 3 | 37 | 10 | 50 | Clear |
| MADRID | 3 | 37 | 11 | 52 | Cloudy |
| MONTREAL | 3 | 37 | 3 | 37 | Cloudy |
| NEW YORK | 7 | 28 | 1 | 39 | Clear |
| OSLO | -12 | 10 | 0 | 32 | Clear |
| PARIS | 2 | 36 | 8 | 46 | Clear |
| RIO DE JANEIRO | 18 | 61 | 17 | 63 | Clear |
| SAO PAULO | 19 | 66 | 30 | 86 | Clear |
| STOCKHOLM | -9 | 17 | 0 | 32 | Clear |
| TOKYO | 1 | 34 | 12 | 54 | Clear |
| TORONTO | -1 | 30 | 2 | 36 | Cloudy |
| VIENNA | -3 | 22 | 1 | 34 | Cloudy |
| ZURICH | 1 | 34 | 12 | 36 | Cloudy |

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## THE WEATHER

Forecast: Sharav

| | Yesterday's Humidity | Yesterday's Min-Max | Today's Max |
|---|---|---|---|
| Jerusalem | 36 | 8—24 | 25 |
| Golan | 27 | 11—24 | 25 |
| Nahariya | 67 | 8—22 | 26 |
| Safad | 40 | 12—19 | 23 |
| Haifa Port | — | 14—17 | 25 |
| Tiberias | 38 | 12—27 | 32 |
| Nazareth | 39 | 13—24 | 27 |
| Afula | 37 | 8—28 | 31 |
| Samaria | 37 | 13—24 | 26 |
| Tel Aviv | 52 | 11—25 | 26 |
| B-G Airport | 31 | 8—28 | 32 |
| Jericho | 31 | 11—30 | 34 |
| Gaza | 81 | 11—20 | 24 |
| Beersheba | 23 | 9—29 | 33 |
| Eilat | 19 | 18—32 | 35 |
| Tira Straits | 16 | —31 | 34 |

## SOCIAL & PERSONAL

Alexander Peli, director of Massada Publishing Co., will speak at the meeting of Rotary West tonight at 7 o'clock at the King David Hotel.

## ARRIVALS

Aron Chilewich, president of the American Associates of Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, and his wife Nusia.

## Two get life for murders

BEERSHEBA (Itim). — Two men received life sentences for murder here yesterday in two separate trials held in District Court.

Zion Abutbul, 23, of Ashkelon, was convicted for the murder of Shoshana Maimon, 19, in November 1976. She was killed by a blow on the head from a rock, and the body was found in an orchard near Ashkelon.

Yamin Padida, 21, of Ashdod, was convicted for the murder last March of Albert Biton, who was said to have stolen a gold chain from Padida. He shot him several times, it was proved, and also shot and injured another man.

Both convicted men have 45 days to file appeals.

# Hebron decision brings 'only harm'—Labour

*Jerusalem Post Staff*

TEL AVIV. — The cabinet's decision to found a yeshiva in the Old City of Hebron will bring nothing but harm to Israel's cause abroad, the Labour Party said yesterday.

The team formulating party responses branded the decision "dangerous and unfortunate. It will inflict grievous damage on Israel's image in the world, and do nothing for Israel."

This decision, the statement says, again proves the government is not operating out of concern for the nation's needs and standing in the world. It repeatedly gives in to pressure by extremist groups such as Gush Emunim, which it is powerless to oppose.

Labour's Knesset faction chairman MK Moshe Shahal said the decision "is no less than irresponsible. It comes at a time when relations between Israel and the U.S. are already very tense, and just on the eve of the Prime Minister's journey to America on an important mission."

Shal pointed to "the damage the decision might cause in relations between Israel and Jewish communities abroad. The only solution is new elections."

Mapam said that the six ministers who voted against the decision must draw the appropriate conclusions and resign immediately. If they fail to do so, Mapam warned, they, too, will bear the weight of responsibility "for this reprehensible decision."

A Peace Now meeting in Jerusalem last night heard MK Menahem Hacohen say the state's moral stature would be determined by its relations with the Arabs and its refusal to continue dominating another people.

The movement said Premier Menahem Begin was unworthy to represent the country in peace talks in Washington. It scored yesterday's decision as lacking the support of the majority of the public and the Knesset, and called for an end to the government.

The Committee Against Settlement in Hebron, a left-wing alliance, denounced the decision as destroying any possibility of peaceful coexistence with the Palestinians.

But would-be Hebron settlers welcomed the decision, although it fell short of endorsing their demand to allow families to live in Hebron.

Their leader, Rabbi Moshe Levinger, told *The Jerusalem Post* that "in the beginning" people will live only in the yeshiva and field school. But, he said, the cabinet's decision is "no doubt an opening to building Hebron and allowing Jews to live all over Eretz Yisrael."

Levinger said he did not intend to move out of the Hadassah building, now to become a field school. Five families, including his own, have been living there for some months.

"I suppose we'll fit in with the institutions. After all, the decision refers to institutions with dormitories," he said.

## CARTER ON PEACE PROCESS

(Continued from page One)

By raising potential problems caused by domestic U.S. politics, the president was seen as trying to signal to Egypt, the other Arab states and the Western Europeans that a traditional slowdown in pursuing Middle East diplomacy will not materialize this year.

Arab states have complained that campaign efforts to win Jewish votes have precluded strong U.S. pressure on the Israeli government to make additional concessions. But Carter yesterday apparently sought to reassure them that he will not allow the elections to prevent an active U.S. role.

Carter has tried to demonstrate his personal commitment to the autonomy negotiations by inviting Sadat and Begin to Washington next month. "It's time to review the progress," Carter said, adding that his separate sessions with the two men are not designed for "negotiations" but merely to "expedite" progress.

He desbribed the unresolved matters in the negotiations as "some of the most complex and emotional issues in the world."

The U.S., he continued, will work "patiently and constructively with both Egypt and Israel as full partners in the negotiations."

Israeli Ambassador Ephraim Evron and Egyptian Ambassador Ashraf Ghorbal both spoke. As could be expected, Ghorbal stressed the Palestinian question while Evron focused on Israeli sacrifices already made in the search for peace. Both men praised the peace treaty and the normalization of relations between the two countries.

Ghorbal called the current situation in the autonomy negotiations a "stalemate," and quoted from earlier remarks by Sadat that "there must be a general transfer of authority to the Palestinians in their land."

Evron, like Ghorbal, praised Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance for their personal contributions to the peace process. The Israeli envoy said that Carter did not allow Israel and Egypt "to drift away."

There had been advance speculation here that some Jewish leaders might boycot the celebration to protest the U.S. vote on March 1 at the UN Security Council in favour of an anti-Israel resolution. But several national leaders were on hand, including Jack Spitzer, president of B'nai B'rith; Hershel Blumberg, incoming general chairman of the United Jewish Appeal; Morris Amitay, executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, and others.

During his remarks, Carter was applauded when he once again stated his opposition to the creation of an independent Palestinian state and when he ruled out negotiations with or recognition of the PLO until it accepts UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 and Israel's right to exist.

The president also called attention to Israel's "strategic" importance to the U.S.

Yesterday's celebration came three days before the actual March 26 signing anniversary. White House officials apparently had moved up the event for maximum impact in tomorrow's New York state presidential primary election, where a large percentage of the voters is Jewish.

## VOTE ON HEBRON

(Continued from page One)

next to it.

Also part of the complex will be two Jewish-owned homes, already being restored as well, each five storeys high.

The entire Hebron project will cost IS10m.

The planning and architectural problem will be simpler with regard to the field school, intended for study of the town's and the region's historical, geographical and environmental aspects. With a third storey to be added to the existing Hadassah building, the school will provide accommodation for 50 students spending short periods in Hebron for specific courses, as well as lecture rooms and staff quarters.

When cabinet secretary Aryeh Naor was asked by reporters how the women squatters in the Hadassah building, led by Miriam Levinger of Kiryat Arba, would take the decision to be replaced by a field school, he replied with some humour: "I hope the ladies downstairs will understand they have no right to be there."

Early in the discussion, Hammer, Hurvitz and Nissim suggested that no decisions be taken until after Begin returns from his Washington summit, tentatively scheduled for April 13. But the prime minister objected adamantly, saying that the matter had already been postponed four times.

When Yadin gave notice that the DM would appeal in the Knesset, Begin said that the Likud-DM coalition agreement "probably" did not envisage cases such as Hebron, since it was directed at new settlement in the areas, not restoration of ancient Jewish sites.

But Begin said he would grant the DM its request to appeal and also its request to defer all action until the appeal will have been considered.

Against the Levy proposal, which passed by its narrow majority, Nissim tabled a proposal for a yeshiva with study areas but without living accommodation on the premises of the Avraham Avinu synagogue. But the motion received only six aye votes, and it fell.

A source close to Nissim said that the minister's proposal, had it been the only one made, would have united the cabinet rather than splitting it, like Levy's proposal. The source stressed that it was based on the concept of a symbolic spiritual presence in the Jewish Quarter, in a sacred building, but without the element of residence.

The source said that Nissim was not aiming to placate international opinion with his lower-profile plan, since he knew that world opposition to Israeli settlement in the areas would not evaporate if the cabinet decided to do nothing at all in Hebron. Rather, Nissim's intention was to heal the rift on the domestic political scene, which has opened up as never before thanks to the Hebron settlement initiative.

In the discussion, Levy said he had enough money available in his ministry's 1980/81 budget to cover the initial planning costs. He argued that the timing of the decision, before the Begin-Carter summit, was irrelevant, since there would always be impending events which could be used to argue for postponement of settlement decisions.

Weizman said he opposed all proposals for action in Hebron, but he would not go into detail "because everything I say here is at once leaked to the press."

Shamir said nothing on the issue.

While Patt, one of the two Liberals who voted against, described the Hebron scheme as "superfluous," the other Liberal opponent, Ehrlich, spoke angrily about the vague text of the decision, which he at first thought was deliberately phrased to hoodwink the public. Only later was it explained to him that the attorney-general had recommended the announcement's language.

The two DM ministers who spoke, Yadin and Tamir, argued that the Levy plan would harm Israel from a security and a political point of view alike.

Landau said that the decision was all the more appropriate after the UN Security Council's March 1 condemnation of Israeli settlement policy. Sharon said that the government must establish a solid Jewish presence in Hebron, and "mass them around the Machpela Cave."

Hammer, who is known to have preferred expansion of the new Kiryat Arba Jewish quarter over a project inside the town, said that he would vote "for" with great reluctance. Hammer complained that insufficient attention was being paid to the country's overall settlement priorities, and objected to the poor timing of the Levy proposal, from the international perspective as well as domestic damage.

Abuhatseira said the yeshiva in Kiryat Arba was quite adequate, and another yeshiva in Hebron would be redundant. He said he would abstain because the Levy proposal would cause Israel political harm.

Naor, explaining the government's reasoning to reporters later, said there could be no place in Eretz Yisrael where Jews were banned, especially not a Jewish quarter in a town sacred since Abraham's time, which was today uninhabited and where the rights of nobody — Jew or non-Jew — would be impaired. Naor said the two projects to be set up were spiritual in their significance and symbolic in their magnitude. They would not generate a focus of tension or social ferment, he argued.

Naor said that whereas the coalition agreement with the former Democratic Movement for Change, now being implemented at the demand of the Democratic Movement (one heir of the defunct DMC) provided for ministers to appeal to the Knesset committee, the agreement did not spell out the next step, if the appeal succeeded.

Naor warned that there was great constitutional inclarity and no precedent for a parliamentary body overruling the executive. He said that a previous attorney general was on record as ruling that a Knesset committee had no such power under Israeli law. The cabinet could, he admitted, meet a second time to reconsider a decision which had been appealed to and rejected by a majority of the committee.

The committee composition at first glance indicated that the DM appeal would succeed, and the government position be voted down.

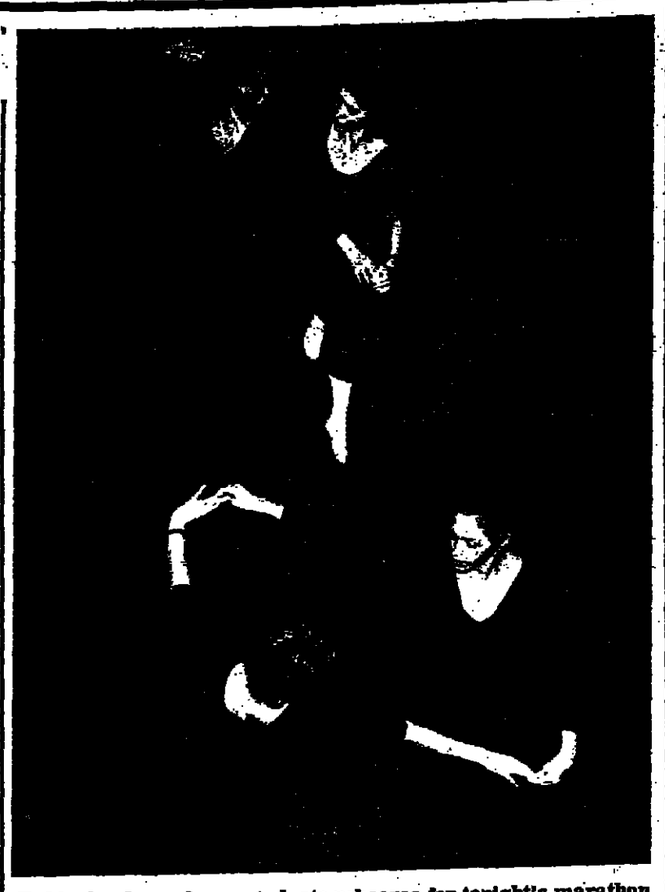
Twelve of the 25 members are sure to vote against the government on the Hebron issue: eight Alignment plus two DM and two Shal. Of the remaining 13, who all beong to the coalition, three Liberals and two La'am and Rafi members may be unhappy with the Hebron decision.

Of the three NRP men on the committee, only one — Gush Emunim patron Rabbi Haim Druckman — is certain to back the government decision. The other two, faction chairman Yehuda Ben-Meir and Zerah Warhaftig, have voiced doubts in the past about the Hebron proposals but have not stated their present position in light of the cabinet vote.

The NRP faction meets this afternoon to discuss the Hebron settlement situation, but will not necessarily take a vote, especially if the matter only comes to the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee after Pessah.

In Knesset practice, when a committee member is known to have dissident views on an issue coming to a vote, he can always be replaced by his faction. But the Liberals, La'am, Rafi and the NRP may all object to a coalition discipline demand on the Hebron issue, which will probably be advocated by the Herut members in the Likud.

With coalition solidarity so strained by the Hebron issue, it was understandable why parliamentary observers last night said the cabinet decision might remain only words for a long time, and possibly even fall in the end.



Rubin Academy dance students rehearse for tonight's marathon at the Jerusalem Theatre, the culminating event in Young Artists Week. (Zoom 77)

## UNRWA claims rights to old Hadassah building

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The UN Relief and Works Agency said last night that it was the legal tenant in the Hadassah building in Hebron.

The head of UNRWA's operations in the West Bank, George Galipeau, said he planned to ask the Foreign Ministry to explain yesterday's cabinet decision to open a field school there.

Galipeau said that in 1976 UNRWA had begun converting the building into a clinic "within the scope of UNRWA's mandate." But the authorities informed the agency that "in the interests of public order it would be better not to use it for any purpose which would allow people to go in and out," he recalled.

After squatters from Kiryat Arba moved into the building, Galipeau asked the government whether the status of the building had changed.

"I got a reply that there was no change — and there would be no change without prior consultations with UNRWA," he said.

Last year the Foreign Ministry gave him a letter so stating, and he had been orally informed that this was also the position of the military government, he stated.

But Galipeau reported the government had not consulted the organization before yesterday's action.

Galipeau said he planned to tackle the problem on a legal rather than a political level.

"Either the government renounces the agreement it had signed in June 1967 under which the UN was to continue operations in the West Bank and Gaza... or the government enters consultations with UNRWA concerning this particular building," he declared.

Galipeau could not say whether the organization would appeal to the Israeli courts. The decision would have to be taken by the legal department at UNRWA headquarters in Vienna or UN headquarters in New York.

## DM postpones talk on bolting coalition

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The Democratic Movement secretariat decided last night to postpone deliberations on a possible departure from the coalition until Prime Minister Menahem Begin returns from his White House talks.

The 18-member secretariat agreed that the time to discuss a move which could topple the government is not on the eve of crucial talks. It would be irresponsible and unpatriotic to do this, it was argued.

The debate was deferred to April 28 when it will be transferred directly to the DM council, which has the last word on the question.

The secretariat took up the question following a demand by four leading DM personalities that the party quit the coalition forthwith. Deputy Prime Minister Yigael Yadin and Justice Minister Shmuel Tamir opposed the move.

## Sharon reports to cabinet on U.S. visit

Jerusalem Post Reporter

The controversy over Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon's political statements during his U.S. visit earlier this month vanished into thin air yesterday.

Apart from Sharon's meetings with Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and chief autonomy negotiator Sol Linowitz, the minister shocked some Jewish leaders when he spoke before the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations.

Last week Industry Minister Gideon Patt criticized Sharon at the weekly cabinet session but Prime Minister Menahem Begin disallowed discussion in Sharon's absence.

Sharon reported in detail on his U.S. visit at the start of yesterday's cabinet session, but there was no discussion and no questions were asked. Only at one point, when Sharon noted that he would be abroad again in May, Patt commented: "I assume that all the Agriculture Minister's trips in future will be coordinated in advance with the Foreign Minister."

## Liberal MK wants to leash Grupper

By SARAH HONIG
Post Political Reporter

TEL AVIV. — MK Menahem Savidor has called on his fellow Liberals to exert pressure on MK Pessah Grupper, "because the party's image is being steadily undermined by his abrasive and vindictive outbursts."

Savidor told party activists in Tel Aviv yesterday that the Likud Knesset faction "must find ways to restrain Grupper before he destroys the party completely."

Savidor noted that "considerable efforts are being made within the coalition these days to put an end to inflammatory utterances by cabinet members...Yet while some in the Likud and National Religious Party attempt to achieve internal peace, Grupper continues to play his merry games."

Savidor and other Liberals have expressed dismay at Grupper's renewed attacks on Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon.

## Kinneret dam's flood gates opened

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TIBERIAS. — The Degania dam flood gates were opened yesterday at the southern tip of the rain-swollen Kinneret to prevent flooding along the lake's shores.

The Kinneret is still rising at the rate of two centimetres a day and now stands at 209.16 metres below sea level. Before the heavy winter rains, the water level of Israel's main reservoir was down to 212 metres below sea level, which officials of the national water company, Mekorot, termed the danger level.

Opening the dam flood gates will increase the flow of water from the Kinneret to the Jordan River and the Dead Sea.

Meanwhile, Kinneret Administration officials yesterday began work to prepare its shores for the tens of thousands of vacationers expected during Pessah.

Construction will be completed at 23 parking areas and beaches for the public's use.

RORSES. — A special course for training purebred Arabian horses opened yesterday near Rosh Pina, taught by Jerry Modlin of Virginia.

On the thirtieth day after the death of

**SANDRA ROSENSTEIN** ז"ל

and her daughter

**TALI** ז"ל

there will be a graveside memorial service and unveiling of the tombstone on Wednesday, March 26, 1980, at 11 a.m.

Friends and those who cherish their memory will meet at the gate to Holon cemetery.

The Family

# Haddad forces hinder UN troop movements

Jerusalem Post Reporter and Agencies

METULLA. — A stand-off prevailed in Southern Lebanon yesterday between Maj. Sa'ad Haddad's Christian militia forces and UNIFIL troops after Haddad's men blocked all approach roads to UN bases in the area.

UNIFIL officers yesterday reportedly appealed to Haddad to allow their soldiers to extend their operations throughout Southern Lebanon, all the way to the border with Israel.

Haddad rejected the request, it was reported, telling his men to prevent all UNIFIL forces from entering the area under his control, except for supply missions.

Settlements in the Galilee and South Lebanon villages were quiet yesterday following the weekend artillery attacks.

Haddad is demanding that the UN soldiers repair the electric power line from Nabatiya to Marjayoun which was heavily damaged by PLO artillery over the weekend.

Haddad also claimed that the UN soldiers from Holland and Ireland are not preventing passage of PLO terrorists through their territory to the south.

Over the weekend, two PLO squads crossed UNIFIL lines and damaged a number of houses in Ein Ibil, in the western sector of South Lebanon, it was reported.

Meanwhile former Lebanese president Camille Chamoun said that Syrian peace-keeping troops should get out of Lebanon and allow the land to return to normal.

Chamoun also suggested in interview with the Beirut weekly magazine "Monday Morning" that Haddad be left to patrol his enclave along Lebanon's border with Israel.

"Sa'ad Haddad is a Lebanese officer," said Chamoun. "He is commanding an army which is not the Lebanese army. After all, we are Lebanese."

The 6,000-man UN peace-keeping force in the southern part of Lebanon "should extend its area of operations to wherever the armed people other than the Lebanese army," he said.

The problem, Chamoun said, is that other peace-keeping troops in the country, the Syrians who were sent in to break up Lebanon's 76 civil war and who have stayed on.

Chamoun said the time has come for the Syrians to go if there is to be peace between Lebanon, Syria and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Syria has pulled its forces out of much of Southern Lebanon and has shifted them into Lebanon's fertile Bek'a valley in the eastern part of the country. In addition, Syrian troops are still heavily entrenched in and around Beirut.

## Giscard's pro-Arab policies under attack from cohorts

ORLEANS, France (Reuter). — French President Valery Giscard d'Estaing's pro-Arab policies came under heavy fire yesterday at the national congress of his own political base, the Union for French Democracy (UDF).

The UDF, created to carry the president's banner into the 1978 general elections, is an alliance of five political groups of which two major ones are traditional supporters of Israel.

Speaking at the start of the congress, UDF president Jean Lecanuet said: "We cannot consider an invitation to France for (Palestine Liberation Organization leader) Yasser Arafat until he recognizes Israel."

Lecanuet, a former justice minister and head of the CDS Centrist Party, added: "Mr. Arafat and his organization must renounce Article 19 of their charter which calls for the destruction of Israel."

Foreign Minister Jean Francois-Poncet called off a scheduled appearance before the congress to avoid violent confrontations, informed sources said. Aides said he was held up on official business in Luxembourg.

The showdown was widely expected after Giscard's call for Palestinian self-determination and PLO participation in peace talks made during a Middle East tour this month.

Former minister Andre Fanton, speaking to thunderous applause, called on the government in Paris to make use of its good relations with the Arab world to urge other states to recognize Israel.

## Gaza bank may reopen

Jerusalem Post Staff

Banks examiner Oded Messer said yesterday that he had heard nothing about deposits of the Bank of Palestine in Gaza being freed by the Egyptian banks, where they have been frozen by order of Cairo's Central Bank since 1967.

But in Cairo, the Egyptian government decreed that the Gaza bank may withdraw funds deposited in its name as soon as it reopens.

The Egyptian central bank declined to give details on the amount of deposits held in that country.

Messer said that for months he has been seeking Cairo's agreement to transfer the money to Gaza, but has still got no reply.

It was learned yesterday that former directors of the Bank of Palestine tried last week to convene an assembly of its shareholders but were prevented from doing so by the military government.

Such an assembly would be legal, since the bank is now under control of the Bank of Israel, but reconstitution would depend on meeting the Jerusalem bank's conditions. Under the Bank of Palestine would be required to operate according to Israeli regulations.

## Kibbutz Artzi economy cuts slash volunteer programme

By YITZHAK OKED
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Mapam's Kibbutz Artzi movement is planning to cut the number of foreign volunteers they accept. Non-Jewish volunteers will be affected more than their Jewish counterparts, though Ezra Rabin, head of Kibbutz Artzi's economic department, yesterday emphasized that there was no prejudice behind the decision.

Rabin explained that economics and a slackening of demand for labour in certain kibbutz sectors were behind the decision.

Preference will be given to volunteers from Zionist organizations who plan to remain in the kibbutz. Rabin also said the decision would not affect policies of trying to attract couples from the cities.

The decision to cut the number of volunteers by 20 per cent was made many taken yesterday at Kibbutz Artzi's 44th council when delegates from the movement's 75 kibbutzim met at Kibbutz Ein Hahoresh to discuss economic difficulties.

Austerity programmes, which each kibbutz will have to draw up separately, call for a cut of 10 per cent in all members' living expenses. For clothing and footwear the council proposes a 50 per cent slash. Ways to save energy, cutting down on vacations, trips abroad and study programmes for members are also being sought.

## Silkman said seeking London transfer

By PAUL KOHN
Jerusalem Post Sports Reporter

TEL AVIV. — The days of footballer Barry Silkman with Tel Aviv Maccabi appear to be numbered.

Silkman, who joined Maccabi on a trial basis from England's first division club Manchester City at the beginning of this year, is now back in England and is reportedly angling for a transfer to a London club. Officially he still belongs to Manchester City, but lost his first-team place there before joining Tel Aviv Maccabi.

Silkman, 20, was the only professional footballer in the English first division. He was thought to be a natural choice for the Israel national team, but has been disappointing and the national team coach Jack Mansell has left him by when choosing his team squad.

The family and friends record with great shock the sudden, tragic death in Montreal, Canada, of

**RALPH C. ORDOWER**

of Montreal and Jerusalem

The total family of the Shalom Hartman Institute in Israel and the Diaspora

deeply mourns the violent and tragic death of its devoted board member and talmid

**RALPH C. ORDOWER**

who was completely dedicated to the strengthening of Israel and Judaism throughout the Jewish world

# ces hin... ovemen...

# ...din: Temple report ...ould be published

...RAHAM RABINOVICH
...rusalem Post Reporter

...Yigael Yadin called yester... publication of the shelved ...n the ancient well remains ...ed on the Temple Mount 10 ...go — remains purported by ...searcher to be those of the ...mple.

...Chamoun also ... ...terview with ... ...weekly magazine ...ning" that Hadd... ...was responding in a radio ...r to Friday's revelation in *Jerusalem Post* that *such* ...s had been found. Yadin ...hat one archaeologist who ...remains believed that they ...be from the Herodian Tem... ...hile another believed ...e and said that the report ...least the sketch made by the ...ologist — should be publish...

...deputy prime minister... ...ologist said he was not con... ...by the theory of Dr. Asher ...an, the Hebrew University ...at who claims the remains ...ee found lie almost exactly ...e had deduced the east wall ...Temple would be.

...principle," said Yadin, ...could still be remains of the ...Temple in the area, but I don't think he's proven his theory yet."

Officials of the Antiquities Department could not be reached last night to determine whether they would heed Yadin's call and order publication of the report, which raises the possibility that the remains are part of the Temple complex.

Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren said last night that he believed Kaufman's theory that the Temple was some 50 metres north of the Dome of the Rock to be "pure imagination." An extensive study which he himself carried out after the Six Day War, said the chief rabbi in an interview, proved irrefutably that the Dome of the Rock *does cover* part of the Temple site and that the Holy of Holies lies west of the Islamic shrine.

Rabbi Goren said he opposed archaeological excavations on the Temple Mount.

Meanwhile, a figure claiming himself as the messiah was seen over the weekend on the Temple Mount surveying with apparent satisfaction the site chosen by Kaufman.

**Motti Ashkenazi, the reserve officer who led an anti-government protest after the 1973 Yom Kippur War, was back on the protest front yesterday, calling for the resignation of Prime Minister Menahem Begin. At his side outside the Prime Minister's Office were two veteran Land of Israel Movement leaders, Shlomo Baum and Ran Livne. But Ashkenazi plans another protest next Sunday, bringing along 'a maximum number of people.' From left, Udi Sain, Ashkenazi, Baum and Livne.** *(Rahamim Israeli)*

# Protest over two detectives in jail with other convicts

By YORAM BAR
*Jerusalem Post Reporter*

TEL. AVIV. — Six former detectives in Tel Aviv's central police unit yesterday began a three-day demonstration outside the central district headquarters here to protest the jailing of two detectives convicted of beating a murder suspect.

Samai Raphael Rabin, 33, was sentenced last week by District Court to four months in jail and his colleague, Yissachar Alfandri, 34, was sentenced to nine months. According to the charge sheet, while they were investigating the murder of a Jaffa drug dealer in October 1978, "they took the suspect to the sand dunes near Rishon Lezion and beat him badly."

Judge Victoria Ostrovski-Cohen ruled that "the two have shamed the police and should be sent to active prison terms." But the judge agreed to their attorneys' request and postponed the jail term to April 15, to allow them time to appeal.

"*We don't protest the verdict,*" Moshe Bleiman, who was a detective *in the central unit until two years ago*, said. "We ask only that *the police see to it that the two former policemen be jailed where their lives will not be in danger.*"

The judge had also recommended *special arrangements to protect the two from other prisoners.*

*Some 700 signatures in support of* the protest had been collected by *yesterday evening.*

Bleiman met Tel Aviv District *Commander Nitzav Moshe Tiomkin* yesterday. Bleiman said later that *Tiomkin would not promise that the two policemen would not be sent to jail, but said he would do all he could to protect their lives.*

"Tiomkin's answer does not satisfy us. If by Tuesday we don't receive a promise that the two policemen will be jailed in a special camp with a guard, we'll begin a hunger strike on Wednesday," Bleiman said.

# Cairo getting kosher hotel

By MICHAL YUDELMAN
*Jerusalem Post Reporter*

TEL AVIV. — A fully kosher hotel *will open in Cairo next month*, the general manager of Knitted Skullcap Tours, Eli Blau, *said* yesterday.

Knitted Skullcap Tours and International Travel Agency have leased *the Vendome Hotel in Giza, Cairo,* and turned it into a top-class kosher *hotel which will employ a full-time* religious cook, rabbi and kashrut *supervisor from Israel, Blau said.*

All the meat served at the hotel *will be supervised by the Glatt* laboratories in the U.S. to ensure *the highest level of kashrut, he said.*

Meat as well as most milk products will be imported from Israel, Blau said. The hotel will also include a prayer room, with a holy ark and Bibles.

The Vendome Hotel has 73 rooms, each including a bathroom, air conditioner and television, Blau said, adding that his company committed itself to keeping a 75 per cent occupancy at the hotel throughout the year.

Rooms at the kosher hotel will cost more than others, due to the extra expense of the imported food *and special staff. A week's stay at* the Vendome Hotel, including the *trip and tours in Egypt, runs to $449* for tourists who come from Israel *by bus and $549 for those who fly,* Blau said.

# New Cairo white paper on Arab boycott

By JONATHAN WRIGHT
*Jerusalem Post Correspondent*

CAIRO. — A newly published government white paper, "Egypt and New Developments in the Arab World" attempts to resolve the "psychological dilemma" imposed by the Arab boycott. It recommends that Egypt bypass Arab rulers and speak directly to the Arab people.

The white paper, prepared on the orders of President Anwar Sadat, rejects the two other options open to Egypt — "waiting patiently for the Arab rulers to come to their senses" and "abandoning the peace initiative in favour of slogans."

Egypt's official explanation of the boycott is that Arab rulers have concealed and distorted the truth about Egypt's peace moves out of malice. If the people of the Arab world had access to the truth, their fears would disappear, Cairo says.

In practical terms, all Egypt has offered is the idea of a league of Islamic and Arab people, but it is still not clear now how the league could choose delegates without recourse to existing regimes.

The criticism of the peace treaty with Israel most often heard in Cairo concerns the irreparable damage it has done to Egypt's historical links with other Arab countries.

# Gaddafi building new bases near border

By JONATHAN WRIGHT
*Jerusalem Post Correspondent*

CAIRO. — The Libyans are building new air bases and "vast defence works" along their border with Egypt, according to Egyptian Chief of Staff Ahmed Badawi, who has just returned from what he called "annual exercises" in the Western Desert.

Badawi said this new development was causing grave concern in Cairo and meant another burden on the Egyptian armed forces. He did not say how many bases the Libyans were building.

Although there are known to be large concentrations of Egyptian troops in the Western Desert, Egypt denies having any intention of attacking its Arab neighbour.

Badawi's statements follow reports that Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi is building a 320-km-long concrete wall from the Mediterranean to the oasis of Jaghboub.

Egypt and Libya clashed in July 1977, but the fighting lasted only four days and was restricted to strikes in the border area. On that occasion, most observers agreed that Egypt was making a pre-emptive strike against Libyan military installations that could have posed a threat. The border has been out of bounds to travellers since then.

TOURS. — Free walking tours of Jerusalem's Old City will be conducted daily during Pessah from April 1 by the Municipal Tourism Department. The tours will leave from Jaffa Gate at 8.30 a.m. and at 2.15 p.m. and will last three hours. Explanations will be given in *English and Hebrew.*

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Jerusalem: 210 Jaffa Rd.
Haifa: Checkpost/Acre Rd.
Rishon Lezion: 100 Herzl St.

**Aharon Krichli (seated, right) looks calm as he is driven to a hospital for psychiatric observation after midnight Saturday.** *(Rahamim Yisraeli)*

# Yeshiva student prevented from suicide attempt

Jerusalem Post Reporter

*An eight-hour drama* at Jerusalem's Meir Institute of Jewish Studies ended at 12:30 a.m. yesterday when yeshiva student *Aharon Krichli, who had threatened* to jump from the roof of the four-storey building, was saved by policemen.

The 23-year-old husband and father of a small daughter, a "penitent Jew" who had been taking courses at the institute for a few weeks, climbed to the roof at 4 p.m. Despite long negotiations with Sephardi Chief Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, institute director Rabbi Dov Bigone, and the police psychologist, he refused to come down.

Tired and confused, Krichli was diverted after midnight by a rabbi, and two policemen managed to jump on him and pull him out of danger. He was taken to a hospital for psychiatric observation.

# Pupils to register for high schools today

Registration for high school starts today and will continue until April 8, the Education Ministry announced yesterday.

Required to register are all children about to graduate eighth grade in elementary schools, and those graduating the ninth grade in junior high schools, even if they are scheduled to continue their studies at the same school.

The ministry stressed that no fees of any sort can be charged, either for registration or for the issuing of report cards and certificates.

Regional advisory centres will be set up to help youngsters for whom no suitable high-school framework can be offered.

# ...ai workers demand probe ...Schiff Hotel conditions

...MICHAL YUDELMAN
...rusalem Post Reporter

...IV. — The lawyer for a ...Thai workers employed by ...iff Hotels has demanded an ...ation by Attorney-General ...Zamir into their working ...ns.

...er Yoram Sheftel also wrote ...owner Haim Schiff and ...ded *IS15,000 compensation* ...100 Thai cooks and waiters, *immediate improvement of* ...nditions.

...el warned Schiff in his letter ...his demands are not met *three days*, his clients will ...Police and labour court to ...ize their "legal rights."

...el Aviv Labour Council said ...ay that the Thais imported ...t in the Schiff Hotels were ...cording to the wage agree... ...rade union official responsi... ...ble for hotel workers in Tel Aviv, Zalman Bendel, said that the only irregularity was the failure to grant automatic increments of IS15 to IS22 to five Thais after six months. But Bendel maintained this was an oversight and will be rectified.

Some of the Thai workers were left with only IS500 a month after a deduction of IS75.7 for their passage, but Bendel said that workers' net income was none of his business.

Schiff yesterday said his company *is considering suing Israel Television for last week's Mabat Shemi programme*, which depicted the Thai hotel workers as underpaid and exploited.

He said that the Thais enjoy better work conditions than most Israeli hotel workers, and that their salaries today buy more dollars than they did when they first arrived, at the beginning of 1979.

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Foreign Minister ... Poncet called ... appearance befo... avoid violent ... formed sources ... was held up on ... Luxembourg.

The showdown ... pected after ... Palestinian self-... PLO participa... made during a ... this month.

Former minister ... speaking to the ... called on the ... to make use of ... with the Arab ... states to recog...

# ...butz XV closing in on rugby title

By JACK LEON
*Post Sports Reporter*

...IV. — Ha'ogen-Nir Eliahu ...out a rare scoreless draw ... Yizre'el in a needle national ...league match at Yizre'el ...e weekend, leaving the com... ...ibbutz XV needing only one ...oint from their two remain... ...tures to clinch the 1979/80 ...onship title.

...en, which, until Saturday ...100 per cent record this ...now have 18 points from 18 ...

...ew University "A", given a ...er by Kiryat Shmona, are *19 points, with Yizre'el one* ...ehind. However, both these *have completed their* ...nmes.

Bringing up the rear are Tel Aviv Asa "A" and Kiryat Shmona, with 12 and six points respectively from 11 games.

Kfar Hanassi won the second-division title in style, a resounding 44-10 victory over Hebrew University "B" at Givat Ram giving the Galileans a total of nine points from 11 matches.

The Varsity XV and Kiryat Bialik finished behind Kfar Hanassi, both on six points, leaving Tel Aviv Asa "B" at the foot of the table, a point behind.

In a weekend friendly game at Tel Aviv University, Ra'anana upset Tel Aviv Asa "B" 12-6. The Ra'anana team is made up of 17- and 18-year-old schoolboys, and this *success will boost their hopes of* joining the league next season.

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...It was learn... ...former directo... Palestine tried ... an assembly ... but were prev... by the military ...

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...decision would ... policies of ... couples from ... The decision ... volunteers in ... many taken ... Artzi's 44th ... from the ... met at Kibbutz ... discuss economic ...

Austerity pro... each kibbutz ... separately, call... cent in all ... penses. For the ... the council ... sinish. Ways ... down on ... and study pro... are also being ...

# Maccabi, Arad unbeaten in softball

...est Sports Reporter

...IV. — Tel Aviv Maccabi ...ad maintained their un... ...ecords in the Israel Softball ... on Saturday, remaining ...eir respective divisions in ...am competition.

...abi, leading the northern *with four victories*, routed Hayarden 17-1. Southern *pacesetters Arad* ...ed its third straight success ...ing Gal-on 8-2, and in addi... ...tion won its scheduled game against Kfar Shmaryahu by forfeit. (*Kfar Shmaryahu also gave a* walkover to Gal-on.)

In other weekend games, Bernie's Bottle Club of Tel Aviv scored *its first success of the season with a* tough 16-14 win against Jerusalem Promised Land Travel. But in the second game of the double-header in the capital, Mike Rosenbloom's three home runs led Jerusalem "B" over Bernie's 20-5.

# ...y Joel's shows here sold out

...rusalem Post Reporter

...IV. — American pop singer ...el, who played to a packed ...at Jerusalem's Binyanei ...a on Saturday night, will ...tomorrow and Wednesday ...lamm Auditorium here.

...the Jerusalem concert, all ...for the two Tel Aviv perfor... *have been sold out.*

...who is one of the best-selling ...ng artists in the U.S., was ...back for three encores on the Binyanei Ha'ooma stage.

The *performer* and his family toured the Old City of Jerusalem *and other sites* over the weekend. He is due today at the Tel Aviv Sheraton Hotel.

### *Correction*

Supreme Court Justice Miriam Ben-Porat is eligible to remain on the bench for at least another eight years, and not as erroneously stated in Friday's *Jerusalem Post.*

# Rabbis certify Jerusalem Hilton

By JUDY SIEGEL
*Jerusalem Post Reporter*

After two years of tough *negotiations* and sometimes bitter wrangling, the capital's chief rabbinate *yesterday gave the* Jerusalem Hilton Hotel a *kashrut* certificate testifying that its food is kosher and that the sabbath is not being violated.

This represents a major victory for the city's Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Bezalel Zolti, who insisted that certification depend on strict observance both of Shabbat and Jewish dietary laws.

The hotel said its kitchens were kosher, but that it was extremely difficult to meet all Zolti's demands on Shabbat since many guests are non-Jewish and some arrive on Shabbat.

*Jerusalem Mayor Teddy Kollek,* upset when the rabbinate twice rescinded the hotel's *certificate* in 1978, was instrumental in bringing *the rabbis and the hotel manage*ment together.

Rabbi Lipa Weingarten, Zolti's aide, told *The Jerusalem Post* that guests arriving and leaving on Shabbat and holidays will not be required to register or pay on the holy day; non-Jewish receptionists will accept money from non-Jews. Other Shabbat arrangements provide for a special elevator, the closure of hotel shops and the laundry, timer-operated food warmers, and a special device to keep water hot. Only Jewish-made wines are on the menu, but others will be served on request (the rabbis forbid the *drinking of wine made or even* touched by gentiles). No pulses — *forbidden to Ashkenazim on Pessah* — will be served during the coming festival.

The Diplomat Hotel is now negotiating with the Jerusalem chief rabbinate to receive its certificate, leaving the Moriah Hotel as the capital's sole major hotel *lacking the certificate.*

# Social workers to strike this week

By ROBERT ROSENBERG
*Jerusalem Post Reporter*

Social workers are planning a one-day strike this Wednesday to protest government policies which, according to union official Yitzhak Kadman, are "destroying the social services of the country."

The Social Workers Union yesterday issued a letter to all its clients, charging that the government's "deliberate policies" are endangering the social services offered to the needy.

"As a result, there will be nobody to listen to you, nobody to help you, nobody to give you what you need," the letter said.

"The government has decided to *fire hundreds of social workers*, while the Treasury prevents the National Insurance Institute from spending millions of pounds in its bank accounts.

"We want you to know that we aren't guilty for the repeated 'no,' you'll hear from us in the coming year because of budget cuts," the letter goes on, saying that "if this government really wanted to, it would take money from the holders of safe-deposit boxes, from stock market speculators, from diamond merchants."

The spokesman of the Social Affairs Ministry sighed when he heard of the letter.

"We're in the middle of a struggle to preserve our budget as it is," Avraham Hoffman said. He said that "there is nothing new" in social workers sending such letters to the clients of the ministry, and indicated that he understood the frustration of the social workers.

Social Affairs Minister Israel Katz, meanwhile, is reportedly "very angry" with Deputy Prime Minister Yigael Yadin, who voted with a majority of the cabinet yesterday to cut Katz's ministry budget by one per cent.

Katz is particularly angry with Yadin because the Democratic Movement leader has always claimed a high priority for social welfare.

# Anti-Nazi activist won't go to jail

TEL AVIV (Itim). — A man convicted of taking over the German Cultural Centre in Tel Aviv and holding one of its teachers hostage in protest of the statute of limitations on Nazi crimes was fined IS700 yesterday.

Andrei Kolchinsky was under a suspended sentence from a prior conviction, but Magistrates Court Judge Ephraim Shalev decided not to apply it. Instead, he extended the suspended sentence from two years to four.

In return, Kolchinsky promised to refrain from illegal actions in the *future, although he reaffirmed his* commitment to make sure that Nazi crimes are not forgotten.

Another man who accompanied Kolchinsky in the cultural centre occupation of December 1977 was also fined and given a suspended sentence.


# PESACH IS SPRING TIME AND SPRING-CLEANING TIME.

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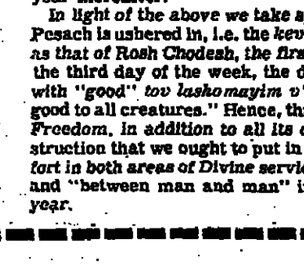
**ETZ HAZAYIT**



# AGUDAT HASSIDEI CHABAD BE'ARTZEINU HAKEDOSHA

**Free rendition of a letter received from the Lubavitcher Rabbi, Menachem M. Schneerson**

## *PESACH MESSAGE*



*To the Sons and Daughters of Our People Israel, Everywhere — G-d bless you all!*

*By the Grace of G-d*
*Rosh Chodesh Nissan,*
*Month of Geulo,*
*Third Day of the Week of Vayikro,*
*Twice blessed with good, 5740*
*Brooklyn, N.Y.*

*Greeting and Blessing:*

The central point of the Geulo (redemption) from Mitzrayim (as G-d indicated to Mosheh Rabbeinu). "When you will lead the people out of Egypt..." *is, of course* "...you will serve G-d on this mountain," to receive the Torah from Sinai, study it and observe its Mitzvos in actual practice. For "the *essential thing is the deed,*" *and to be able* to do all this in complete *freedom.*

*At the same time, each Torah related action has an impact on the* mental and emotional faculties of the person learning Torah and do*ing Mitzvos, refining him or her both in intellect and character, as* the Rambam — the Guide to the Perplexed of his generation and of *all subsequent generations* — emphasizes in many places.

Needless to say, since each and all of the Mitzvos have been given by G-d, who is *Ein-sof* (Infinite), so are the teachings and effects of every Mitzva and Torah aspect, infinite in scope and dimension. And the more comprehensive and all-embracing is the Mitzva, the deeper, wider, and more variegated are the aspects stemming from it.

In addition to the teachings of the Mitzva itself, there is also the instruction that can be derived from the *kevius*— occurrence — of the Mitzva, as it falls due on a particular day of the week, varying from year to year. And while the general message always remains in force, the *particular* occurrence of the Mitzva in point of time underscores specific aspects of the Mitzva even more pointedly and emphatically.

If the above pertains to every Mitzva and aspect of Torah, how much more so in regard to such an all-embracing event as *Yetzias-Mitzrayim*, which we are obligated to recall and to mention every day, twice daily, in our prayers, and in a particularly pronounced *way during the days of Pesach so as to permeate every day of the* year thereafter.

*In light of the above we take special note of the fact* that this year Pesach is ushered in, i.e. the *kevius* of the first day of Pesach, as well *as that of Rosh Chodesh, the first day of the Month of Geulo,* falls on the third day of the week, the day which the Creator blessed twice *with "good" tov lashomayim v'tov labriyos, "Good to Heaven and* good to all creatures." Hence, this year's Pesach, the Festival of Our *Freedom, in addition to all its other teachings, emphasizes the* instruction that we ought to put in an extra measure of vitality and ef*fort in both areas of Divine service*, namely, "between man and G-d" and "between man and man" in our everyday life throughout the *year.*

One of the inner aspects of being "good to Heaven and good to all creatures" is that it is the most effective *medium of unity* between two polar extremes: the Creator ("Heaven") and the created ("*creatures*"), *as well as* between humans themselves, where each individual has his own will and his own interests; but being good to one other brings about peace and unity *between* them, in the fullest sense of *shalom*, namely, that both sides gain a measure of completeness (*shleimus*).

It follows from the above that what has been said about being "good to Heaven and good to creatures" means that these do not remain two separate concepts, but become (like) one and the same — as the Alter Rebbe taught, *v'ohavto lre'acho komoicho* ("love your fellow like yourself") is a "vessel" to *v'ohavto es Hashem elokecho* ("love G-d, your G-d").

Even where it appears at first glance that it is merely a matter of *tov lashomayim*, since it stems from *v'ohavto es Hashem elokecho*, it must express itself in the fulfilment of His Mitzvos with true enthusiasm, including, especially, the "Great Principle" of the Torah, *v'ohavto lre'acho komoicho — tov labriyos.*

Conversely, inasmuch as the Mitzvos refine the individual, his character, intellect and *dispositions, as mentioned above, they are* the instruments whereby one achieves the highest degree of loving G-d "*with all your heart, and with all your soul*, and with all your substance" — *tov lashomayim*, because the refined soul-powers become attuned and drawn to spirituality and G-dliness.

This is also one of the basic teachings of *Yetzias-Mitzrayim*, the purpose of which was to "serve G-d on this mountain," receiving the Torah, as also indicated in the first of the Ten Commandments: "I am G-d, your G-d, who brought you out of the land of Egypt."

Simply stated: After the Jewish people languished in Egypt for generations, in a state of slavery to Pharaoh, not only physically but also spiritually — they transformed themselves completely and attained true freedom; so much so that not only did they reject the "idols" of Egypt and the entire Egyptian ideology, but, in addition, consecrated all their powers and the "great wealth" that they brought out of Egypt to the construction of the Mishkon (Sanctuary) for the Divine Presence in their midst, which made peace between the whole of Creation and the Creator, to the extent of *v'shochanti bsocho'm* ("I will dwell among (within) them") — making this material world a fitting abode for G-d, Blessed Be He.

May G-d grant every one of us, together with all our Jewish brethren, a "kosher and joyous Pesach." This expression, too, reflects both *tov lashomayim* ("Kosher Pesach") and *tov labriyos* ("joyous Pesach"), since in order that the joy of Yom Tov should be complete, it is necessary to care for and bring joy to "everyone who is hungry" and "everyone who is needy."

Furthermore, practising *Ahavas-Yisroel* in the fullest measure, will nullify the cause of the present Golus and hasten the realization of the Divine promise: "As in the days of your going out of the land of Egypt" — "G-d will bring us to His Holy Land...and will build His Beis Hamikdosh as the high Heavens...and we, Your people and the sheep of Your pasture, will praise You for ever," for it will be a Geulo that will not be followed by Golus, a Geulo forever, the true and complete Geulo through Moshiach Tzidkeinu, and very soon indeed.

With esteem and blessings for a
Kosher and joyous Yom Tov,
and good tidings in all the above,
Signed: Menachem M. Schneerson

# S. African army said meddling in politics

JOHANNESBURG (Reuter). — A secret document published yesterday indicated that the South African military has planned to interfere in the parliamentary system to support the government and to thwart opposition attacks.

It set out plans to manipulate the news media, blunt opposition attacks in parliament, and mute criticism of the government, preparatory to parliament's discussion of the defence budget, according to Johannesburg's "Sunday Times," which printed extracts of the military paper.

Opposition members of parliament were incensed. Harry Schwarz, chief opposition spokesman on defence, said that if the report proves correct he will demand the resignation of those who had political responsibility.

A South African Defence Force (SADF) spokesman said Prime Minister Pieter Botha, who is also defence minister, had asked to be briefed on the document "about which he had no knowledge."

The "Sunday Times" said the document was headed "Psychological Action Plan: Defence Budget Debate."

Major General Phil Pretorius, director-general of the armed forces civic action department, signed it on February 12 on behalf of General Magnus Malan, SADF chief, the paper said.

While no details of the next defence budget have been made public, South Africa seems to feel increasingly isolated by an international arms boycott and the National Party government may propose a big increase in military spending.

According to the "Sunday Times," the document said that the budget debate on defence was expected to start in the middle of April.

"This leaves little time for creating the right climate and requires that certain steps be initiated immediately," the paper quoted the document as saying.

The secret order set out a long list of objectives, including steps to manipulate the news media and to "nullify the opposition's attack on the prime minister during the budget debate," the paper said.

Later editions of the paper pointed out that while early copies of the paper were reaching street sellers, top army officers had held a hasty meeting, hoping to stop the presses. But it was apparently too late for them to seek a court order.

Fifteen-year-old Annabelle Schild, right, released by her kidnappers on Saturday after being held for seven months, kisses her mother Daphne in Cagliari, Sardinia. (UPI telephoto)

# U.S. says shah not planning to return for medical care

Washington Post News Service

WASHINGTON. — The Carter administration said anew on Saturday that there are no plans for the former shah of Iran to return to the U.S. for medical treatment.

A spokesman, who did not permit use of his name, told reporters there are no plans for such treatment here "on the part of the United States or on the part of the shah."

President Jimmy Carter had promised on Friday to help provide "good medical care" for the shah, soon after it was learned that White House Chief of Staff Hamilton Jordan had flown to Panama to resolve a dispute about hospital facilities for the deposed shah, Mohammed Reza Pahlavi.

The administration is reported to have been under renewed pressure by friends of the deposed monarch to permit him to return or to go to a U.S. medical facility in the Canal Zone for an operation to remove his enlarged spleen.

The administration has resisted, believing that satisfactory medical arrangements can be m... Panama and that the shah's ... to U.S. territory would ... complicate efforts to obtain ... of the American hosta... Teheran.

The Associated Press ... sources close to the Pan... government, reported that ... has gone to a remote ... retreat owned by Gen. Omar ... jos, head of Panama's ... Guard and the country's ... powerful figure. Torrijos ... dan's key contact in the ... negotiations that led to the ... shah's move from the ... Panama last December ...

Jordan was reported ... to resolve differences be... tors over the advisability o... Panamanian operating ... the surgery. The alternati... use Gorgas Hospital, ... equipped U.S. army hospi... could cause new turmoil ... negotiations to free the ... who have been held hostage ... since November 4.

# Rifles don't change society, Russian journal cautions

MOSCOW (AP). — A Soviet foreign affairs journal has published two articles apparently warning young revolutionary states to go slow in making radical social transformations.

The two-part series in the weekly "New Times" has attracted the attention of Western diplomats, who see it as a partial explanation of "cautious policies" by the pro-Soviet government in Afghanistan.

The articles debunk the idea that "a rifle will do the job" in transforming societies, and argue instead for gradualism, democratic principles and careful economic development.

The articles, by Yevgeny Ambartsumov, appear in consecutive issues of the journal, which is published in nine languages and widely distributed abroad.

Stressing that Russia's development into a socialist state began in the special conditions of World War I, which necessitated the use of "rigid centralization, temporary restrictions of democracy and the like." Ambartsumov recognizes that present-day revolutionary regimes, faced by "subversive activities of imperialism," must take strong steps to defend themselves.

But, he warns, "It also happens that political power and those in whom it is vested become, as it were, absolutized."

Ambartsumov condemns Uganda's Idi Amin, "who played havoc with the country by expelling foreign tradesmen, craftsmen and specialists, and decided to compensate for this by proclaiming a new system, which in reality became a reign of despotism and arbitrariness."

Afghanistan's current leaders, he says, realize their country is overwhelmingly illiterate and that they can hope to create now only the basis of a future socialism, the article says, pointing out that "the new Afghan government realizes the great danger of running ahead of developments."

# Pinochet breaks off Asian tour

SUVA, Fiji (Reuter). — Chilean President Augusto Pinochet left for home yesterday, abandoning an Asian and Pacific tour after the Philippines government cancelled his Manila visit and demonstrators at Suva Airport pelted his car with eggs.

A government spokesman said Pinochet had left Fiji, but did not give any explanation for his departure only half way through a scheduled two-day visit. No Fijian officials were at the airport when he left.

Pinochet was due to fly to Manila today for a five-day visit, but on Saturday the Philippines government said President Ferdinand Marcos "had to go out of town on a very urgent and pressing matter" and would be unable to meet him.

VISIT. — Britain's Defence Secretary Francis Pym arrived in Peking last night for what the Chinese called an exchange of views on world issues with senior military leaders here. He also will preside over the opening in Shanghai of a British aviation equipment exhibition.

# Never want to see Sardinia again—but they can't leave

CAGLIARI, Sardinia (UPI). — A Sardinian official yesterday forbade the British Schild family from leaving the island after all three had been released by kidnappers, because they say they never wish to see the place again.

German-born Jewish electronics engineer Rolf Schild, 55, his wife Daphne, 51, and their partially deaf daughter Annabelle, 15, were all seized by gunmen near their holiday villa at Palau on the northeast tip of the island on August 21.

Schild was released two weeks later to raise a finally negotiated $770,000 ransom. Mrs. Schild was secretly released two months ago and Annabelle was freed early Saturday.

Mrs. Schild told journalists after a tearful reunion with her daughter near the island's capital of Cagliari: "We will never come back to Sardinia."

Cagliari public prosecutor Giuseppe Villa Santa said that as the family had also told him they never want to see Sardinia again, he was withholding authorization for them to fly to London, where Schild settled after his parents died in a concentration camp and he fled Nazi persecution in 1939.

As the Schild villa was sold to raise part of the ransom, the family have no cause to return.

Villa Santa said that, in view of this, the family would have to stay several more days to make statements about their ordeal. Nine people are behind bars accused of the triple kidnapping and more arrests are expected.

# Massacre in Guatemala

GUATEMALA CITY, Guatemala (AP). — Two of the 26 bodies found in a secret cemetery 70 kilometres west of here were identified on Saturday night as persons who had been missing for several months, authorities said.

Authorities said one of the men in the common grave in Chimaltenango was identified as Cesar Animal Cano Garcia, a glass-factory worker kidnapped on February 17 by unidentified men who burst into his home. The other was Juan Ordonez Chocojay, kidnapped by unknown persons near his home last December 3.

Authorities said the 26 victims, most of them with their hands bound behind them, were buried at the bottom of a ... Most showed signs of tort... authorities speculated th... killed by rightists, altho... was no word if the victi... political activists.

Elsewhere, 250 kilometre... the capital, one leftist gue... reported killed and tw... wounded in a gunbatt... authorities.

In another incident, Os... Zepeda Martinez, 69, ... when he was struck by ma... fire while driving to Antig... passenger in the car was ... ed, authorities said.

# Tito's birthday celebratio... under way-two months e...

NOVI SAD, Yugoslavia (AP). — With songs, doves and a golden baton, Yugoslav officials yesterday began celebrating a birthday President Josip Broz Tito was not expected to live to see.

"We must message you, Tito, that we know you will conquer the illness," Communist youth leader Vasil Tupurkovski told thousands gathered in Novi Sad's city square.

Starting under an immense red and white portrait of Tito, business-suited metal worker Zoran Ostojic held aloft the gold-plated 1980 "stafeta" (decorative baton) and carried it on its first leg of a two-month relay throughout Yugoslavia.

"Our desire that you get well is expressed on the lips and resounds in the hearts of all Yugoslavs," said a message inside the baton. The message normally would be presented to Tito at a "youth festival" in Belgrade on May 25, the Yugoslav president's official birthday.

But as this year's cel... began, the 87-year-old Tit... ed gravely ill in a Slovenia... where he has been since ...

Shortly after the "stafet... Novi Sad square, Tito's do... they were trying new ... against his pneumonia, bu... no changes in his kidneys ... internal bleeding problem...

Few expect Tito to ... enough to see his 88th bi...

The baton will be ... Macedonia, Kosova, ... Hercegovina, Slovenia, ... before returning to Serbia ... federal capital of Belgrade.

On April 25, the baton ... to reach Ljubljana, whe... hospitalized.

Tito was actually born ... 1892, but his ... partisans began ... birthday on the 26th, ... wrong date on ... warrant.

The youth relay was ... Serbian city of Kraigjevo ...

# Italian premier trying to form new coalition

ROME (UPI). — Outgoing Italian Christian Democratic Premier Francesco Cossiga agreed yesterday to try to succeed himself, but he was facing a strong challenge for the premiership from Socialist leader Bettino Craxi.

Cossiga resigned as 42nd premier since the fall of fascism in 1943 when the third-ranking Socialist left-wing and Communist Party, the largest in the West, demanded cabinet seats, and his frail majority collapsed.

But on Friday, a stormy meeting of the Socialist central committee gave 46-year-old Craxi permission to go into coalition negotiations with the ruling party. Craxi makes no secret of his price for cooperation: the premiership.

## Korchnoi, Petrossian in sixth draw

VELDEN, Austria (AP). — Exiled Russian Viktor Korchnoi, who plays for Switzerland, and the Soviet Union's Tigran Petrossian on Saturday night drew their seventh game in the quarterfinal series of the World Chess Championship qualification tournament.

With seven games completed, Korchnoi, who won one game, led Petrossian 4-3. They drew six games. They get half a point each for a draw. A victory means one point.

# Sweden votes on future use of nuclear energy

STOCKHOLM (UPI). — Sweden, often viewed as a proving ground for social and technological experiments, voted on its energy future yesterday, tackling one of the most complex and emotive issues of the day — nuclear power.

First results from the voting were expected late last night (about midnight in Israel), but public opinion polls published just before the referendum showed that Swedes would opt for continued use of atomic power by a large majority.

After months of campaign debate which polarized Swedes more than any issue since the anti-war protests of the 1960s, the nation chose between three alternatives, all of which were, in effect, a rejection of nuclear power: Lines 1 and 2 proposed an expansion of atomic power and its continued use for the next 25 years while alternative sources of energy were developed. Line 3 called for the closure of all atomic power plants within 10 years.

CRICKET. — Pakistan yesterday beat Australia for the first time in a three-test cricket series, holding onto their 1-0 lead when the final match in Lahore ended in a draw. Allan Border of Australia scored a personal triumph, completing his second century of the match yesterday.

# Carter swamps Kennedy in Virginia

RICHMOND, Virginia (AP). — President Jimmy Carter trounced Sen. Edward Kennedy on Saturday in Democratic Party caucuses that launched the delegate-selection process in Virginia — the only southern state Carter failed to carry in the 1976 general election.

With the tabulations completed for roughly two-thirds of the caucus — mass meetings held across the state — Carter led his challenger by a 9-to-1 margin.

State Democratic Party ... said it was likely Carter ... would get 59 of the ... delegates to the ... nominating convention. ... party will choose its ... the November election.

Nationally, Carter ... nearly 3-to-1 delegate ... Kennedy going into ... caucuses. Carter had 478 ... to Kennedy's 182. A can... need 1,666 delegates for the ... tion.

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# ENTERTAINMENT

## TELEVISION

EDUCATIONAL: 9.00 Ma Pitom. 9.25 Carousel. 9.45 Musical Chairs. 10.20 Luke's Friends. 10.50 A meeting with Amir Gilboa. 16.00 Handicrafts. 16.12 Programme for kindergarteners. 16.30 Literature. 17.00 Ot Ve'Od — quiz

CHILDREN'S PROGRAMMES:
17.30 Animals, Animals, Animals — goats (in colour)
18.00 Ritch-Ratch — children's entertainment programme

ARABIC-LANGUAGE programmes
18.30 News roundup
18.32 Sports
19.27 Programme announcements
19.30 News

HEBREW PROGRAMMES resume at 20.00 with a news roundup
20.03 Morasha — Quiz on Jewish history and tradition
20.30 Eight Thirty — bi-weekly arts and culture magazine
21.00 Mabat newsreel
21.30 Too Late the Hero. Robert Aldrich's 1970 film about two soldiers sent on a suicide mission in the Pacific during World War II. Starring Michael Caine, Cliff Robertson and Henry Fonda (in colour)
23.40 Almost Midnight

JORDAN TV (unofficial):
17.40 Cartoons. 18.30 French Hour. 19.00 News in French. 19.10 (JTV 3) Peyton Place 19.30 News in Hebrew. 20.00 News in Arabic. 20.30 That's Hollywood. 21.10 Affairs of the Heart. 22.00 News in English. 22.15 Switch

## ON THE AIR

### First Programme

6.12 Morning Melodies
7.07 (stereo): Pachelbel: Chaconne in F Minor; Handel: Sonata for Recorder and Harpsichord; Gluck: Dance from Orfeo;
8.05 (stereo): Galliel: Contrapunctus and Fantasy for Two Lutes; Brahms: Academic Festival Overture; Beethoven: Piano Sonata No.21, Waldstein; Grieg: Four Psalms for Mixed Choir and Baritone; Dvorak: Overture; Bezare: Four Village Dances for Two Lutes
10.05 Radio story
10.15 A Little Anthology
10.40 Education for All
11.15 Traditional Japanese music
12.05 (stereo): Gervase de Peyer, clarinet; Zvi Harel, cello; Marina Bondorenko, piano — Schumann: Fantasiestuecke for Clarinet and Piano; Brahms: Cello Sonata in D Major, op.78; Benjamin: "Tombeau de Couperin" Waltz Caprice; Webern: Cello Sonata
13.00 (stereo): Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Guitar Concerto in D Major (John Williams); Schubert: "Der Lindenbaum" (Fischer Dieskau); Strauss: Kaiser Waltz (arr. Arnold Schoenberg)
14.10 Children's programmes
15.30 World of Science (repeat)
16.05 Music Quiz
16.40 (stereo): Youth Concert — Works by Johnson, Holbrone, Gibbons and Brahms — performed by the Musica Nova Ensemble; Deller Consort; the Pro Musica ensemble and pianist Emil Gilels
17.45 Programmes for Olim
20.05 (stereo): Composers and Performers (repeat)
21.00 Everyman's University
1.30 Speaker's Podium — with Dr. Rivka Bar-Zohar
22.05 (stereo): Gila Yaron, soprano, Yair Kless, violin, Eliahu Turner, oboe, Shlomo Shoham, horn and Sara Pinsun-Heyman, piano — Handel: 2 Arias; Cooke; 3 Nocturnes; W.F. Bach; Aria; Mordechai Seter; Concertante for Oboe, Horn and Piano; Poulenc: Chansons
23.23 (stereo): "23:23" — Contemporary Music
00.10 (stereo): Choral Music — Penderecki: Stabat Mater (Sweden Radio Choir); Vivaldi: Psalm; Ligeti: Lux Aeterna

### Second Programme

7.02 This Morning — news magazine
8.10 Good Morning — songs, chat with Rivka Michaeli
10.10 At Home
12.05 Productive Pace
12.30 Road safety broadcast
13.05 Midday — news commentary, music
14.10 Musical Adventures
15.05 Sabbath Songs
16.10 Health and medicine magazine
17.10 Moni Pe'er's talk and entertainment show
18.07 Of Men and Figures — economics magazine
18.36 Sports magazine
18.48 Bible Reading — Samuel II, 14:18-33
19.00 Today — people and events in the news
20.10 Crucial Decisions: President Truman's decision to support the State of Israel
21.05 Jazz Corner
22.05 David Margalit's weekly column (repeat)
23.05 Treasure Hunt — radio game

### Army

6.30 University on the Air — Reproduction Processes (part two)
8.05 IDF Morning newsreel
10.05 Morning Party
11.45 Quarter to Twelve — current affairs
12.05 Lunch Hour — with Eli Yisraeli
14.05 Two Hours — music, art, cinema, and theatre reviews, interviews, anecdotes and music
16.05 An hour with Zvika Pik (repeat)
17.05 IDF Evening newsreel
18.05 My Kiryat Shmona — residents talk about their city on its 30th anniversary
19.05 Needle in a record stack
21.00 Mabat — broadcast of the TV newsreel
21.35 University on the Air (repeat)
22.05 Let's Listen — new records and recordings with Natan Dunevitch

Broadcasts in English
7.00 (Fourth, Fifth) *
14.00 (Fourth, Fifth) *
18.00 (Fourth) *
20.00 (Fourth) *
22.00 (Fifth)*
00.30 (Fifth) *
* Fourth programme: 737 kHz. Jerusalem area 674; central Israel 1025
* Fifth programme: Short wave and FM 88.2 MHz.

## CINEMAS

JERUSALEM 4, 7, 9
Eden: Swiss Family Robinson; Edison: Apocalypse Now 6, 9; Habimah: Three Days of the Condor; Efrat: "5+6"; Mitchell: The Godfather 5.45, 9.15; Orgil: The Marriage of Maria Braun; Orion: "1941" 4, 6.30, 9; Orna: Kramer vs. Kramer 4, 6.45, 9; Ron: Klute; Binyanei Ha'uma: Last Summer 7, 9; Cinema 1: Days of Heaven 7, 9.15; Israel Museum: Thief of Baghdad 11, 3.30

TEL AVIV 4.30, 7.15, 9.30
Allenby: Goin' South; Ben-Yehuda: The Tin Drum 3.45, 6.30, 9.15; Chen: Operation Leopard; Cinema One: Mandingo; Cinema Two: Closely Watched Trains; Dekel: Kramer vs. Kramer 7.15, 9.30; Drive-In: The New Adventures of Heidi 7; Escape from Alcatraz 9.30; Esther: Apocalypse Now 6, 9; Gat: Bambi 11, 4.30, 6.30, 8.30; Gordon: Silent Movie; Hod: The Sex Machine, adults only; Limor: Klute; Maxim: The Marriage of Maria Braun; Megrabi: "5+6"; Ophir: Three the Hard Way; Orly: A Man Called Intrepid; Paris: The Rocky Horror Picture Show 10, 12, 2, 4, 7.15, 9.30; Peer: The Great Santini; Ramat Aviv: Looking for Mr. Goodbar 7, 9.30; Shakuff: Hair 4.15, 7, 9.30; Studio: And Justice for All; Tchelet: A Very Moral Night, adults only; Tel Aviv: "1941" 4.30, 7.15, 9.30; Monday — The New Adventures of Heidi 11 a.m.; Tel Aviv Museum: Chelsea Girls; 3.30, 7.30; Big Wednesday 7.15; Zafon: Breaking Away

HAIFA 4, 6.45, 9
Amphitheatre: "1941"; 4, 6.30, 9; Cinema: Operation Leopard; Alonot: Midnight Express 10, 2, 7; The Elite: 12, 4, 9; Miron: Swedish Made — nonstop, adults only; Merkaz: 5.45, 9; Orah: Apocalypse Now; Ordan: Rebel Without a Cause; Orion: Justine and Juliet, adults only; Orly: Bambi 11, 4.30, 6.30; Peer: The Tin Drum 3.30, 6.45, 9; Shavit: La Luna 6.30, 9

RAMAT GAN
Armon: Bambi 4, 6.30, 8.30; Time After Time 7.15, 9.30; Cinema: Operation Leopard 4, 7.15, 9.30; Orda: "10" 7.15, 9.30; Rama: Mistress 7.15, 9.30; Mon., Wed., 4.30; Ramat Gan: "1941" 7.15, 9.30

HERZLIYA
David: "5+5" 4, 7.15, 9.30; Tel Brish and Sundance — the Days 7.15, 9.15; HOLON
Migdal: "1941" 7.15, 9.30
PETAH TIKVA
Shalom: Texas Detour 7, 9.15
NETANYA
Esther: "10" 7, 9.15

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# The New York Times

WEEKLY REVIEW

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# Shotgun Wedding

## Pressure to Cut the Budget Leads To Bipartisanship — For Now

By JUDITH MILLER

WASHINGTON

In an overheated hearing room in the Cannon House Office Building Thursday night, there occurred a remarkable alchemy that produced a new, if fragile, political element in Congressional attitudes toward the budget, economy and inflation.

After two days of long sessions and impassioned debate, the House Budget Committee adopted and sent to the House a 1981 fiscal plan that would, for the first time in 12 years, balance the Federal budget.

That in itself was a considerable achievement. Even more remarkable was how the resolution was approved. It succeeded because six of the eight Republicans voted with the Democrats to support it. Republicans on the Democratic-controlled committee had always opposed the budget resolutions.

Representative Robert N. Giaimo, Democrat of Connecticut and chairman of the committee, called it "a truly historic effort."

But that effort had its price. It deeply split Democratic liberals and moderates on the Budget Committee itself, and laid the groundwork for an even more serious division among other House Democrats. Indeed, some Democrats fear that the alienation of their party's liberals might ultimately endanger Congressional efforts to pass a truly balanced budget.

Passing a budget is a long and difficult process, of which the House Budget Committee's action Thursday is only the first step. The budget targets must win approval of the House, the Senate Budget Committee and the full Congress. Differences must be resolved in conference and new resolutions approved by both branches.

Meanwhile, there is an important catch: the Senate and House committees that actually approve specific authorizations and appropriations must devise spending programs that fall within the targets. Collectively, they have not managed to do so since the budget process was created in 1974.

### $13.5 Billion Reduction

The Giaimo resolution calls for $611.8 billion in spending — $13.5 billion less than President Carter's original budget proposal in January — and estimates revenue at $613.8 billion for the fiscal year beginning Oct. 1. The measure may be voted for consideration Friday on the House floor, where it has little chance of liberal Democratic support.

Liberals are particularly angry that the Budget Committee rejected their pleas to restore a minimum of $500 million in aid to cities. Representative Louis Stokes, Democrat of Ohio, expressed the sentiments of many liberals when he said that the resolution made him "ashamed of the Democratic Party."

"This resolution is not just a bunch of numbers," said Representative Stephen J. Solarz, Democrat of New York, explaining why he and others would vote against the budget resolution. "It is political philosophy. Why should we try to out-Republican Republicans?" he added. "And if we do, why should we support fake Republicans in November, rather than the genuine article?"

The resolution is strongly supported by Democratic Budget Committee moderates, however. Representative Timothy E. Wirth, Democrat of Colorado, called the prospect of a severe split in Democratic ranks "nonsense," and defended the budget resolution as not being aimed primarily at "people programs." Last fall, Mr. Wirth and other moderates began meeting privately with their Republican counterparts to explore the possibilities of support for a balanced-budget resolution. Mr. Giaimo, for the moment, finds himself wedded to this unusual coalition, and he acknowledges his position is fraught with risk.

"I am dependent on them," Mr. Giaimo said of his Republican supporters.

Mr. Giaimo's resolution already reflects some concessions to the Republicans. While he initially argued that revenues from President Carter's new oil import fee should be held in reserve for a productivity tax in the indefinite future, Mr. Giaimo supported an amendment that specifically earmarked funds for a tax cut next year, provided the budget targets are met.

### Trouble on the Other Side

Even so, Republican support on the House floor is by no means assured either. Several Republicans, including Representative Delbert L. Latta of Ohio, the budget panel's ranking Republican, are drafting a substitute resolution that makes further cuts in social spending programs but increases funds for defense.

Mr. Giaimo is also concerned that the coalition could dissolve if the Carter Administration presses to restore $500 to $700 million in funds for aid to the cities.

Mr. Giaimo's concern, and that of other Democratic moderates wedded to the new bipartisan coalition, has in turn created a political dilemma for the Carter Administration. Mr. Carter, aides say, is compelled to carry out his pledge to provide "cushioning" for cities, like New York, that would be endangered by the elimination of $1.7 billion in state revenue-sharing funds. But pressing this issue on the House floor would undermine Mr. Giaimo, without whom no balanced budget effort stands a chance.

"We've encountered disaster every time we've tried to oppose the chairman," said one White House official.

Instead, the White House will probably try to seek restoration of the funds through the Senate Budget Committee, when it begins its budget deliberations on Wednesday. In the Senate Committee, headed by Edmund S. Muskie, Democrat of Maine, and the panel's ranking minority member, Senator Henry Bellmon of Oklahoma, a bipartisan approach to the budget has prevailed for some time.

In the Senate, however, the bipartisan tradition on budgetary matters is threatened this year by the insistence of conservative Republicans, and some Democrats, on substantial increases for national defense.

But assuming that both Budget Committees eventually approve a balanced budget resolution, Congress would then face its most difficult question: Can the spending committees stay within the limits?

"Mr. Giaimo's experimentation in bipartisanship makes that task even harder," warns Representative David R. Obey, Democrat of Wisconsin. "How can you expect the authorization committees to stick to a budget resolution that does not have the support of one-third of the Democratic caucus, the liberals?"

Mr. Giaimo is betting that a sense of crisis will provide the answer. "There are unique times in this country when parties coalesce," he said. "People here are terrified about the economy. This is one of those times."

Malcolm McNeill

# Major News

## Illinois Voters Turn Their Backs On Byrne, Kennedy

Summary

The primary results in Illinois accurately forecast the final word on the Democratic contests in 1980, the story is that of a campaign falling from political grace, remarkably early. Last week, Senator Edward M. Kennedy, to his supporters the remaining hero of Democratic liberalism, a slain President's brother Robert Kennedy — lost to Jimmy Carter.

The first primary contest in a major northern industrial state that was his home ground, Mr. Kennedy won only 30 percent of the popular vote and only 14 delegates. The President won 65 percent, and 165 delegates. Now the Senator must take New York on Tuesday to keep open even the possibility of being nominated. *(New challenges moving to the right, page 2).*

On the Republican side, the Illinois results were less dramatic, but apparently decisive. Ronald Reagan won 37 percent of the popular vote and 37 percent and 26 delegates. George Bush trailed with 11 percent and 11 delegates.

For Mr. Anderson, Illinois had been a last opportunity for a first win, a chance to cast a definitive shadow on Mr. Bush's day in the sun. For Mr. Reagan, the stakes in his home base of Chicago, which also votes Tuesday, are now of the highest. *(Connecticut not practiced in primaries, page 3. Republican strategies, page 3.)*

How did it happen? Unlike Mr. Carter's narrow victory over Mr. Kennedy in the Puerto Rico primary last Sunday, a single issue such as statehood or commonwealth status dominated the politics. Rather, the reasons that produced Mr. Carter's compelling all year again came into play. (The one variable was Richard Daley's machine, now the shaky property of Mayor Jane Byrne, who last year defeated it and this year supported Mr. Kennedy. The machine did poorly last week, but its greatest loss was local, to State Senator Richard M. Daley, the late Mayor's son, who beat the organization's candidate for State's Attorney. On the Presidential lines, machine delegates came closer to winning than Mr. Kennedy.)

Illinois voters, for example, disapproved of Mr. Carter's handling of the economy, 43 to 35 percent, according to a New York Times/CBS poll. But Mr. Kennedy, who has made the economy a prime issue, did only marginally better among the disapprovers than Mr. Carter did. Then there was the cross-over vote. As in Massachusetts, the Republican race pulled in Democrats and independents, who mostly went for Mr. Anderson.

The cross-over vote held another message for the G.O.P. Mr. Reagan beat Mr. Anderson in part because he attracted a substantial following of more conservative independents. If he is the Republican nominee, he must do at least that well in November. *(Carter vs. Reagan, page 3.)*

## Carter Gets Into The Mideast Act

"I am the head of the State Department," Cyrus R. Vance told a hostile Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week, taking the rap once again for the Administration's bungled United Nations vote on Israeli settlements. "What happens in the State Department and at the United Nations is my responsibility," he said.

In reality, the buck stops further up the line, as President Carter seemed to acknowledge by inviting Anwar el-Sadat and Menachem Begin on separate visits to Washington next month to discuss autonomy for the 1.2 Palestinians of the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. Jordan's King Hussein, who has stayed out of the negotiations, is expected the following month on what was officially described as an unrelated visit.

Throughout the Administration's Middle East diplomacy, breakthroughs have only been achieved when Mr. Carter personally intervened with the Israeli and Egyptian leaders. This may especially be true on the autonomy issue, which pits Palestinian nationalism against Israeli security concerns. Last year's Egyptian-Israeli peace agreement set a May 26 goal for accord on a Palestinian "self-governing authority." But 10 months of lower-level negotiations have stalled.

Mr. Carter's powers of persuasion aside, with the New York Presidential primary on Tuesday, and the memory of the March 1 Security Council vote still acute among New York Jewish voters, the President had obvious domestic political reasons to play the peacemaker again. Celebrating the first anniversary of the treaty three days early (and two days before the New York vote), Mr. Carter invited 1,300 people, including leaders of prominent Jewish organizations, to a White House party today.

The harsher side of politics was left to Mr. Vance, who, in addition to assuming blame for the "communications failure" the White House said resulted in a miscast United Nations vote, refused in his Congressional testimony last week to disavow the Security Council resolution. In fact he seemed to harden the Administration's condemnation of Israel's populating of occupied Arab land with Jewish settlements. He told the House that the United Nations vote was taken back only because the President felt it was not "helpful" at this time.

The United Nations episode strengthened hawks in both Arab countries and Israel. However, Prime Minister Begin's popularity, undermined by economic issues, has not benefited. An opinion poll last week showed that his Likud Party would get only 26 of the 120 seats in the Israeli Knesset if elections were held now, while the opposition Labor Party would win a majority of 62. Some observers have suggested that Mr. Begin might be more willing to compromise on Palestinian autonomy now than in the past, sensing that Israel will get better terms while the Carter Administration is defending its incumbency and before Mr. Begin is defending his.

## Alarums, No Panic For the Economy

Just as the difficulties of balancing the budget became apparent in Congress last week, the effects of another part of President Carter's new anti-inflation plan — credit controls — began to reach consumers.

No squads of Plastic Police went house-to-house with shouts of "Open up! We know you've got a Visa card in there!" But what did happen, as the Federal Reserve assumed power under the 1969 Credit Control Act invoked by Mr. Carter on March 14, caused consternation enough. There was growing fear that the credit controls would make unnecessarily harsh a recession that many had foreseen — and even sought as a means of combatting inflation.

The Government said personal income rose by only three-tenths of a percent in February, the smallest monthly increase since 1975. And although preliminary figures last week indicated a continuing economic growth rate of 1.9 percent, the Commerce Department said weaknesses in the February data "quite likely" indicated "the beginning of decline."

While there was considerable doubt over the Administration's course, there was progressively less doubt over results:

- Tightening of consumer credit. Responding to the requirement that 15 percent of any new credit issued be frozen in a Federal Reserve account, revolving-credit lenders began slamming the door. Many banks stopped issuing credit cards, and trimmed the spending limits of those who already held them. J.C. Penney Co. raised the minimum on installment purchases, from $19 to $200. Sears, in what may become widespread practice, prepared to raise minimum monthly payments on credit accounts.
- Wariness in the financial markets. The bond market — whose collapse spurred the latest anti-inflation measures — expressed little confidence in the new solutions. Bond interest rates soared and prices declined, in part because of heavier-than-usual borrowing by the Government itself. Generally rising interest rates (including a jump in the prime rate to 19 percent at some banks) contributed to a big drop in the stock market.
- Charges of inequity. In one of the more controversial developments, the high-paying money market funds sued for an exemption from the requirement that they, too, meet the 15 percent reserve requirement. They argued that such funds are an important source of investment capital and therefore do not contribute to inflation. The Fed agreed, but kept the requirement on the ground it would help thrift institutions compete for savings.

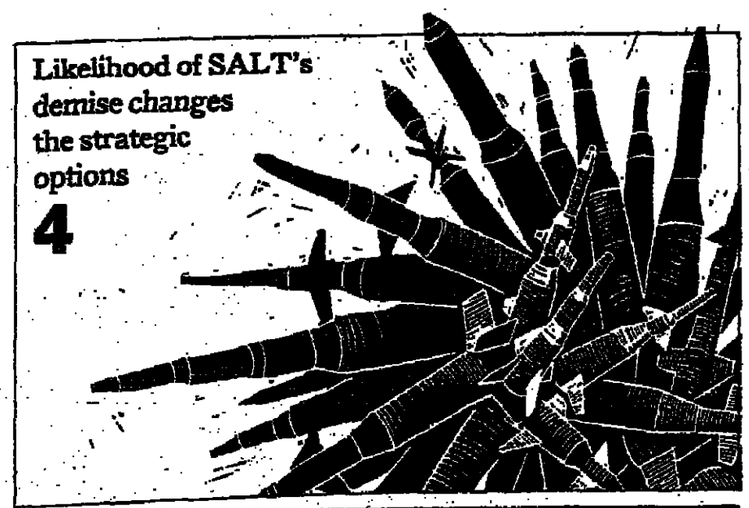
Bankers expressed uncertainty over how to exercise the credit-control power delegated to them by Paul A. Volcker, the Fed chairman, who said he expected banks to "voluntarily" discourage unsecured consumer loans and speculative commodity lending for a 50 percent decrease in the extension of credit.

### U.S. vs. U.S. Steel

The United States Steel Corporation and the Carter Administration squared off last week to see who was the toughest cookie on the block. So far, it's a draw.

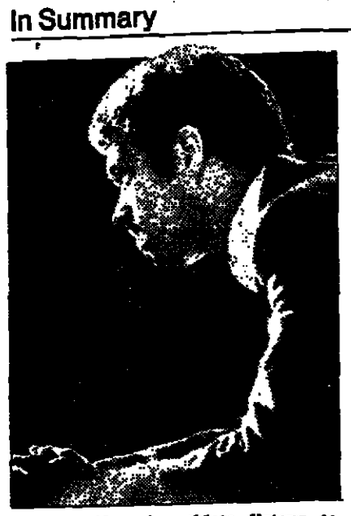
U.S. Steel filed "antidumping" complaints with the Government, alleging that seven European steel producers were illegally selling products below cost in this country. President Carter had warned that if the corporation went ahead, the Administration would simply drop the "trigger-price" mechanism — in effect a minimum steel price that helps protect domestic producers against foreign competition. He carried out that threat.

U.S. Steel is irate over a recent decision not to raise the trigger price. The Administration fears that action against the Europeans could provoke a trade war. Suspension of trigger prices could mean cut-throat competition and lower prices in the short-term. But if U.S. Steel wins its case, prices would ultimately go up.



# The Nation

## In Summary



A U.S. Olympic athlete listens to President Carter last week.

### U.S., Bonn Raise The Hurdles for Afghan Invasion

*The Carter Administration* last week decided to extend its short-term controls on high-technology exports to the Soviet Union, while Chancellor Helmut Schmidt of West Germany gave the strongest indication so far of his country's readiness to boycott the Moscow Olympics.

Both positions are of course intended to put pressure on the *Russians* to withdraw their troops from Afghanistan. Both meant setting aside certain misgivings.

The trade decision restricts sales to the Soviet Union — and in some cases to its Eastern bloc allies — of "computers and software, manufacturing technology and materials critical to the manufacture of high-technology defense goods." Details were to be announced later. One official said, however, that such deals as the 1972 sale of *equipment by the Ford Motor Company* for the Karma River truck plant would be prohibited.

Some Commerce and State Department officials had argued that severe restrictions might hurt American producers more than Russia, and further damage international relations. In current capitalese, this is called shooting oneself in the foot.

Mr. Schmidt, for his part, has been concerned lest Washington impulsively induce other nations to shoot *themselves in the foot — then* just as impulsively switch its own tactics. His demand last week that the Russians "create the conditions" for universal participation in the Olympics, German officials said, means that athletes will not go to Moscow unless the troops are withdrawn from Afghanistan by May 24, the Olympics registration deadline.

Twelve nations including the United States, Britain and Australia announced in Geneva a plan for an *international sports festival after the Moscow* games, at sites to be selected. Sale of television rights would be expected to finance the festival.

And in a White House meeting, President Carter flatly told a group of former and prospective Olympic athletes that although he understood their desire to compete, the United States "will not go" to Moscow.

### Discrimination Suit Hits Home

For many years, for members of many minority groups, the Federal Government was the employer of choice. Now, Washington, charged with ending occupational segregation in private industry, has frequently *found itself accused from within.* Last year, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission called the Federal record worse than the private sector's. Last week, eight lawyers in the Justice Department, the agency whose job it is to enforce antidiscrimination laws, filed a formal administrative complaint against their employer.

The eight, leaders of a group called the Racial and Ethnic Minority Attorneys Caucus, said the department's six main legal divisions not only have failed to recruit more minority members but have not proportionately promoted those they already have. They filed suit even though 8 percent of the lawyers in the six divisions are *members of minorities,* and that figure is much higher than the percentage of minorities in the lawyer population as a whole. Of the over 450,000 attorneys in the country, roughly 4 percent are black, Hispanic, or members of other minority groups.

### Firemen's Strike In Second Round

Disputes had been smoldering ever since Kansas City firefighters ended a work slowdown on Jan. 2, and last week they flared into a full-blown strike. Seventy-one men were jailed and fined $300 each, Highway Patrol officers and National Guardsmen were called in to help cope, and Mayor Richard Berkley raised the possibility of dismissing all 900 union firemen.

The firefighters gave up their 12-day "job action" earlier this year without winning either of their two major demands: a new contract to replace one that expired last May; and a guarantee of amnesty for those who participated in the slowdown. Although negotiations continued, the city's contract offer has not changed significantly. It wants to trade a 19-percent raise over two years for an 8-hour increase in the current 40-hour work week. The firemen say this would mean a $1-an-hour wage cut.

The immediate cause of last week's strike, however, was the city's decision not to rehire 42 union members dismissed in December. Union officials, saying they had "committed" themselves to the position that "if one man was fired, all men were fired," called the strike. The city responded by preparing discharge notices for 143 more firemen.

Mailing of those notices was delayed, however, as officials sought to cool the situation late in the week. A county judge ruled that City Manager Robert Kipp, who had upheld dismissal of the original 42 firefighters on Monday, could "exercise his discretion" and relent if he chose. Mr. Kipp did not immediately respond.

### Double Whammy For an Old Pol

*Attorney General William J. Scott,* one of the winningest politicians in recent Illinois history, came out on the losing end of two verdicts last week. The first was delivered by state voters, who gave the Republican nomination for a United States Senate seat to a rival. The second was meted out by a Federal District Court jury, which convicted him on one of five Federal tax-fraud counts.

Mr. Scott's troubles began in 1977, when his former wife testified at a child-support hearing that she had discovered $48,900 in cash while looking for documents in safe deposit boxes. Federal prosecutors charged that the money had been illegally taken from taxable campaign contributions; that Mr. Scott later used the money for trips abroad; and that he had underreported his income for 1972 through 1975 by at least $52,252. Defense attorneys said the money represented unrestricted cash gifts, which are not taxable.

During the 10-week trial, opinion polls showed steady erosion in Mr. Scott's lead over Lieut. Gov. Dave O'Neal in the senatorial primary race. The Attorney General decided not to testify in his own defense, hoping this would mean a quick end to the trial (in what he confidently predicted would be a "not guilty" verdict) before Tuesday's primary.

Mr. Scott was first elected Attorney General in 1968. If the conviction stands, he will be required under state law to resign.

### Fallout Claims Get New Support

Military mistakes generally are paid for in battlefield casualties. Not necessarily so for the use of herbicides in Vietnam and nuclear weapons testing in Nevada in the 1950's. Higher-than-normal disease rates among persons exposed to them have produced numerous court battles for compensation. But the lawsuits have been hampered by a lack of evidence linking the events to disease incidence and by questions of who is to blame.

Last week, two separate documents seemed to admit that such links exist and fix Government responsibility.

A Presidential task force, established in July, reported that postwar nuclear weapons testing probably caused some deaths or disease. The Government, it said, should accept responsibility. The panel recommended avoiding expensive compensation litigation. Already, 965 claims for $2 billion in damages have been filed in Federal court in Salt Lake City by Utah, Arizona and Nevada residents.

The panel suggested the following: Estimate a person's radiation dosage, compute the chances that fallout caused his particular cancer and award or refuse compensation accordingly. Such a procedure, the report indicated, might avoid litigation that would establish judicial precedence for Government responsibility in other incidents — the use of herbicides in Vietnam, for example, exposure to which, say veterans, has crippled or killed.

Vietnam veterans do not accuse the Government, but the chemical companies of negligence in selling Agent Orange and Agent Blue herbicides. Agent Orange contains dioxine, a poisonous chemical and known carcinogen, but one whose effects are known mainly from animal studies. Arsenic, the chemical base of Agent Blue, is a known carcinogen.

Last week two Congressmen released copies of what seemed to be a Veterans Administration memorandum — author and addressee unknown — saying that the chemical compounds can cause cancers among the men and birth defects among their children. The note seems to contradict agency testimony before Congress that the herbicides have not been proved a human health hazard. The agency's comment on the matter is expected tomorrow.

Daniel Lewis
and Caroline Rand Herron

*Tuesday's Primaries Are Specially Vital for Kennedy and Bush, Since*

# New York Thinks Liberal But May Vote Conservative

By FRANK LYNN

IF Senator Edward M. Kennedy had to pick any state *other than Massachusetts* for what could be his last stand, it would presumably be New York. John F. Kennedy won the state in 1960. Robert F. Kennedy was elected its Senator in 1964 despite a carpetbagger charge. The family's business enterprises are run from a New York office and many Kennedys live here.

Indeed, the Senator should have more friends in New York than his relatives. The state is one of the most liberal in the nation. In a poll last month, 35 percent of the Democrats, Republicans and independents surveyed described themselves as liberal or very liberal. Catholics and Jews — a traditional *Kennedy* constituency — will comprise at least 75 percent of the Democratic electorate, whose votes Tuesday will pick 282 convention delegates.

And in two out of the last three Democratic Presidential primaries, two very liberal Democrats — Senator Eugene J. McCarthy in 1968 and George S. McGovern in 1972 — took the majority of the state's delegation. The pattern was bent in 1976, when Senator Henry M. Jackson led the seven-candidate field. *But it is worth noting that Jimmy Carter ran* fourth, behind Representative Morris K. Udall of Arizona, the liberal Democratic standard bearer then, and uncommitted delegates.

All this tells something about the politics of New York — but not everything. Many New York Democrats believe that Mr. Kennedy is a political icon from the past, considerably to the left of the state's increasingly conservative voters, who have elected to high office middle-of-the-road Democrats — including Governor Carey and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, both of whom have chosen discreet neutrality in this week's contest.

The Democratic shift is in part a reaction to the liberal Republicanism of the late Nelson Rockefeller and his big spending programs. And in fact, the Democratic party is doing quite well. It has a two-term Governor for the first time since the Depression, and three of the four statewide elected officials. It controls one of the two houses of the Legislature, and 26 of its 39-member delegation in the House of Representatives are Democrats.

Not surprisingly, the rightward shift is more pronounced among Republicans, who will send 117 delegates to their party's national convention. Ronald Reagan, once anathema to New York Republicans, is supported by four of the five county organizations in New York City, reflecting the siege mentality of white middle-class Republicans in the outer boroughs. Although there were signals of a shift last week, Republican politicians upstate and in the suburbs are generally more mainstream. They have been concerned about Mr. Reagan's conservatism because they fear that a poor showing could mean a repeat of the 1964 Goldwater losses.

The majority in their areas, they are also less influenced by the threats and blandishments of the Conservative Party. Created 18 years ago to counter "Rockefeller liberalism," it has been moving up fast; based on its vote in gubernatorial contests, it is now third-ranking. The fourth is the single-issue Right to Life Party. The Liberal Party, which used to nudge the Democratic Party to the left by its endorsements or threats to withhold its blessings, places a distant fifth.

## Geography is Also Diverse

If the state's politics is diverse, that is because it reflects the state's geography and demography. The largest state in the Northeast, New York borders on the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean. Its Southern Tier *touches* Appalachia; its North Country is a neighbor to New England. Two waterways, the Hudson River and the Erie Barge Canal, form a giant, upside down "L," connecting every important city in the state, as they have for nearly 200 years — paralleled now by trucks and other transport on the Thomas E. Dewey Thruway.

Many of these cities — such as Yonkers, Albany, Utica, Syracuse, Rochester and Buffalo — are microcosms of New York City. Aging cores are ringed with suburbs surrounded by rural and farm areas. And, as in the New York City area, the further from the inner city, the more likely Republicans and prosperity are to be found.

That pattern is repeated on the Southern Tier, running along the Pennsylvania border with R... 17 as its economic lifeline. The key cities along... stretch, separated by suburbs and rural areas... Binghamton, Elmira and Jamestown. It's still... publican territory, but not as much as it once... a third of the 15 Congressmen who come from a... the Westchester suburbs are Democrats. In pa... cause of the large Catholic population in the ... and suburbs, moderate Catholic Democrats su... Mr. Carey and Mr. Moynihan run strongly in... predominately Protestant upstate.

And then there is New York City. While the p... lation of the state has dropped 400,000 in the pa... years, to 17.7 million by the latest Census Bu... estimates (the state is now the second largest i... country), the city's population has dropped pr... tously; from 7.8 million to 7.1 million — and s... its political and governmental influence.

Except, that is, in Democratic primaries... cause upstate is traditionally Republican, and g... of its delegates are uncontested (the Reagan ... preferred not to mount a challenge there); ... Republican polls will not even be open. O... Democratic side, however, 60 percent of th... should come from the city, from its 1.5 m... Jews, its 3 million Catholics, including 1.5 m... Italian-Americans, and its 2 million blacks.

Given that arithmetic, Mayor Koch's suppo... President Carter is critical. Mr. Koch is still r... a popularity wave. With the Administration's ... cern over its snafu on the United Nations reso... on Israeli settlements still strong, the Mayor ... been particularly helpful to the President by ... forcing his contention that the Administrati... still committed to Israel — and by his st... new Federal budget-balancing which will ... certainly reduce Federal payments to the c...

But there are indications that he has ... price for his support. The Mayor had promi... his own Program to Eliminate the Gap in J... and even after curtailing in city spending, $... lion in extra state and Federal aid would ... quired to balance the city's books. Mr. Koch ... last week he had been assured by Vice Pr... Mondale that the city would receive special ... few days later, President Carter pledged ... rate taped interviews with five New York C... vision stations that he would press Congress ... store $500 million in aid for hard-pressed ... cluding New York.

Whether the White House's promises will ... be kept is a question; last week, the House ... Committee left the city holding an empty ... Mr. Koch's bargaining is of the kind that ... strates why Jimmy Carter is well on the w... nomination — even in what only a few mon... was still considered Kennedy country.

The New York Times/Fred R. Conrad, Larry Morris; A.P.
Campaigners Bush in Stamford (left), Reagan and Kennedy in New York City.

# Connecticut Ventures Into New Ground

By RICHARD L. MADDEN

HARTFORD

PERHAPS the most surprising thing about Connecticut's first full-fledged Presidential preference primary election on Tuesday *is the fact that the state is having one.* This is, after all, what Governor Ella T. Grasso likes to call "the land of steady habits."

Until recent years, it usually allowed its party leaders to choose its statewide candidates without fighting it out in primary elections. It generally likes its candidates moderate, and it does not always swing the same direction as the rest of the nation in a Presidential election year.

The state went for Herbert Hoover over Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932, for Hubert Humphrey over Richard Nixon in 1968, and for Gerald R. Ford over Jimmy Carter four years ago.

Compared with New York, Connecticut is compact and relatively comfortable. It ranks 48th among the states in area and 24th in population, with about 3.1 million residents, but it is fourth in personal income. It also is much more diverse than the sample provided by the *commuters who get off* the trains at Grand Central from Fairfield County each morning.

Fairfield County may have its country clubs, but places like Bridgeport, Hartford, Waterford, Waterbury and New Britain have their Italian-American clubs and their Polish-American clubs. More than 40 percent of the population is Catholic. The typical Connecticut resident today is more likely to be a descendant of Italian, Irish or Polish immigrants than old Yankee.

No one section dominates the state. About one-third of the population is scattered among medium-sized cities. Almost half the population lives in suburbs. Over half the work force is white-collar; over one-third is blue-collar; the balance varies, from farmers to lobstermen.

Fairfield County has its corporate headquarters lured from New York City and its high-priced homes, and Hartford has its insurance companies. But the backbone of the state's economy is still manufacturing — transportation equipment, industrial machinery, and fabricated metal products. With that manufacturing base, the state relies heavily on defense business — aircraft engines in East Hartford; helicopters in Stratford, and submarines at Groton. Connecticut gets more defense contracts, on a per-capita basis, than any other state.

But still, Connecticut is definitely New England. The state's 169 towns pride themselves on their independence, and there is no county government to speak of to provide some regional cohesion.

At the same time, residents of Fairfield County tend to be more oriented toward New York City than to the rest of Connecticut. Their television antennas point toward New York, rather than Hartford or New Haven. The baseball fans in Fairfield County generally follow the Yankees and the Mets, but many of the fans elsewhere in the state follow the Red Sox.

On paper, Connecticut would seem ideal territory for Edward M. Kennedy and George Bush.

Connecticut has long identified with the Kennedy name. But Governor Grasso, a Democrat, and most of the senior members of the legislature and many Democratic municipal officers are backing President Carter. Among the Republicans, Mr. Bush, whose father, the late Prescott Bush, was a United States Senator from Connecticut, is spending the most time in this state in the days before the primary. But he is being challenged by an active organization for former Gov. Ronald Reagan of California and a late-blooming effort on behalf of ... resentative John Anderson of Illinois.

The holding of the first state-run Presidenti... mary for both parties (state Democrats ... have their first until 1976) is a good example o... the political structure has changed here.

Party organizations have weakened considera... from the days of John M. Bailey, the pow... Democratic state chairman for nearly three ... ades, who died in 1975. Connecticut voters ... learned how to split their tickets on the voting ... chine, and the most successful candidates in r... years have gotten into office by building their ... organizations. They include Senator Lowe... Weicker Jr., the only Republican holding stat... office, and Representative Christopher Dodd, ... is seeking the Senate seat Abraham A. Ribic... put on the ballot for Governor in 1954 by the lat... Bailey — is vacating this year.

It is for that reason, as well as the lack of a ... record, that most of the political leaders have ... wary about predicting the turnout and the win... of Connecticut's 54 Democratic and 35 Republ... delegates. More than 600,000 Democrats and ... than 400,000 Republicans will be eligible to vo... cross-over voting is permitted.

YOUR CHILD could win an encyclopedia if you subscribe to The Jerusalem Post. see page 5

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*the Current Favorites Have Already Displayed Broad-Based Support*

# Underdogs' Strategy: Hang Tough to the End

By ADAM CLYMER

WASHINGTON

CURRENT political discourse sometimes sounds, painfully, three deep at every position in sports clichés, from "frontrunner" to "longshot" to "knockout blow" to "sudden-death" primaries, such as the winner-take-all Pennsylvania Republican contest.

For an examination of the lingering Presidential nomination strategies of Edward M. Kennedy, George Bush and John B. Anderson compels comparisons to the Miracle Braves of 1914, the Giants of 1951 or the Yankees of 1978.

For there just have been no successful comebacks in Presidential politics comparable to what these candidates must do to win a Presidential nomination in 1980 — although today's leading Republican candidate, Ronald Reagan, in 1976 came very close. He won his first primary exactly four years ago today, in North Carolina. On Tuesday, in New York and Connecticut, Mr. Kennedy will be trying for his second and Mr. Bush for his third. Mr. Anderson, even if he should come in first in Connecticut, would still be two days and a lot of delegates behind Mr. Reagan's 1976 pace.

The underdogs' difficulties are far more than merely arithmetical, though the arithmetic alone is formidable. It takes 1,666 delegates for a Democratic nomination and 998 for the Republican designation, and President Carter already has 635 to Mr. Kennedy's 214, while Mr. Reagan's 206 amount to an equally comfortable cushion over Mr. Bush, with 47, and Mr. Anderson, with 39.

What they share are problems that go beyond numbers. The two leaders have established that they can win in different parts of the country, and have shown that at least in intraparty races their apparent weaknesses don't count for much. And Mr. Reagan and Mr. Carter are both being treated by the press, and the political establishment, as almost certain winners — an inevitable discouragement to the trailing rivals.

Political change is an essential ingredient in the hopes of last week's losers. But, as Richard G. Stearns, Mr. Kennedy's chief delegate hunter, said last week, "It's mathematically possible. It's not so clear if it's politically possible."

The political base of the Kennedy nomination theory remains rather simple: Keep banging away on the economy, hope that it brings an important victory, preferably on Tuesday, and hope that leads to major political change.

The accompanying arithmetic, to get from 214 to 1,666, is entangled in the bizarre delegate selection rules of the Democratic Party, rules that last week got Mr. Kennedy two more delegates when another 186 write-in votes were tallied in Jacksonville, Fla.

Mr. Carter's forces contend Mr. Kennedy would need 60 percent of the vote everywhere, from now on, to get even. Mr. Stearns argues that a well-placed 53 point average would do it, starting Tuesday in New York — an average that accounts for a few of the likely defeats by weighing in at least 60 percent in California, which has 306 Democratic delegates.

## Last Counts Most for G.O.P.

California counts even more heavily in the Republicans' thinking, because of the winner-take-all rule for its 168 Republican delegates. There are far more winner-take-all races in Congressional districts in the Republican Party, a fact that can translate a narrow victory in popular votes into a delegate landslide.

Michael MacLeod, Mr. Anderson's campaign manager, and James A. Baker 3d, Mr. Bush's chairman, offered similar theories on the politics of winning. Each said it was important for former Governor Reagan of California to make a major gaffe such as his talk of selling the Tennessee Valley Authority in 1976, and noted that Mr. Reagan's new campaign team is still untested in dealing with political misfortune. Each argued that Republicans should come to realize that his candidate was more electable than Mr. Reagan in November, but Mr. Baker would not agree with the MacLeod-Anderson contention that the Californian could not win.

For Mr. Anderson, Mr. MacLeod sketched a strategy that involved personal approaches by the Illinois Congressman to every uncommitted, or not legally bound convention delegate. He counted on winning the majority of delegates in Ohio, New Jersey, Michigan and Oregon, and said flatly "If we are going to win the nomination, we have to win California." To do that, Mr. Anderson will start an advertising campaign next month to get Democrats and independents in Mr. Reagan's home state to re-register as Republicans, a formidable task.

Mr. Baker, for Mr. Bush, noted the element of getting Mr. Anderson out of the way too, which his candidate tries by a stress on the Illinoisan's allegedly remiss party loyalty. Mr. MacLeod said he expected that in time it would turn out to be only a "back-burner issue."

## April 26 a Key to This Round

Mr. Baker said his side viewed Pennsylvania's April 26 primary as their key test, the first time they will be running one on one against Mr. Reagan. (Mr. Anderson's volunteers, back in January, failed to get enough signatures to put him on the ballot.) After that, Mr. Baker hoped success in Pennsylvania would persuade fellow Texans that Mr. Bush was a real possibility for the nomination, so that he could score in the May 3 Texas primary, perhaps picking up a third of the 80 delegates in the state where Mr. Reagan won them all in 1976.

Both Republican underdogs have delegate counters who can doodle on yellow pads and argue that if their campaigns take off there are hundreds of delegates to be won in Michigan or Ohio or Tennessee or West Virginia. But there are also a large number of Western caucus states where Mr. Reagan's strength seems completely undiminished, and the urge to get on the bandwagon is another serious obstacle. That, for example, may get the rest of New York's uncommitted delegates into Mr. Reagan's column early next month.

Mr. Baker and Mr. MacLeod both pointed out that if a break comes they have a financial advantage over Mr. Reagan. They will have far more money left to spend (if they can raise it) without going over the Federal spending limit. Mr. Baker calls it being ready "to take advantage of any Reagan fumbles."

For all the underdogs, it comes down to arguing that the game is not over until the last man is out. Bobby Thomson, will you please call campaign headquarters?

## The Presidential race

### The score so far

| | | DEMOCRATS Delegates needed: 1,666 of 3,331 | | | | REPUBLICANS Delegates needed: 998 of 1,994 | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| State | Primary date | Delegates | Carter | Kennedy | Other‖ | Delegates | Anderson | Bush | Crane | Reagan | Other‖ |
| Ala. | Mar. 11 | 65 | 43 | 2 | 0 | 27 | 0 | 9 | 0 | 18 | 0 |
| Alaska* | Caucuses | 11 | 6 | 4 | 7 | 19 | – | – | – | – | – |
| Ark.* | Caucuses | 33 | – | – | – | 19 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 7 | 10 |
| Del.* | Caucuses | 14 | 9 | 3 | 2 | 12 | – | – | – | – | – |
| Fla. | Mar. 11 | 169 | 74 | 23 | 1 | 51 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 51 | 0 |
| Ga. | Mar. 11 | 63 | 62 | 1 | 0 | 36 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 36 | 0 |
| Hawaii* | Caucuses | 18 | 14 | 4 | 1 | 14 | – | – | – | – | – |
| Ill. | Mar. 18 | 179 | 165 | 14 | 0 | 92 | 26 | 2 | 4 | 39 | 21 |
| Iowa* | Caucuses | 50 | 32 | 18 | 0 | 37 | – | – | – | – | – |
| Me.* | Caucuses | 22 | 12 | 10 | 0 | 21 | – | – | – | – | – |
| Mass. | Mar. 4 | 111 | 34 | 77 | 0 | 42 | 13 | 14 | 0 | 13 | 3 |
| Minn.* | Caucuses | 75 | 44 | 5 | 26 | 34 | – | – | – | – | – |
| Miss.* | Caucuses | 32 | 24 | 0 | 8 | 22 | – | – | – | – | – |
| N.H. | Feb. 26 | 19 | 10 | 9 | 0 | 22 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 15 | 2 |
| Okla.* | Caucuses | 47 | 33 | 6 | 7 | 34 | – | – | – | – | – |
| Pa.*† | – | 185 | – | – | – | 83 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 |
| S.C. | Caucuses (D) Mar. 8 (R) | 37 | 21 | 0 | 16 | 25 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 25 | 0 |
| Vt. | Mar. 4 | 12** | – | – | – | 19†† | – | – | – | – | – |
| Wash.* | Caucuses | 58 | 22 | 12 | 13 | 37 | – | – | 2 | 2 | – |
| Wyo.* | Caucuses | 13 | 7 | 4 | 0 | 19 | – | – | – | – | – |
| P.R.* | Feb. 17 (R) Mar. 16 (D) | 42 | 21 | 20 | – | 14 | 0 | 14 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| TOTAL | | – | 635 | 214 | 81 | – | 39 | 47 | 6 | 206 | 39 |

### The next phase

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Conn. | Mar. 25 | 54 | – | – | – | 35 | – | – | – | – |
| N.Y. | Mar. 25 | 282 | – | – | – | 123 | 0*** | – | 34*** | – |
| Kansas | Apr. 1 | 37 | – | – | – | 33 | – | – | – | – |
| Wisc. | Apr. 1 | 75 | – | – | – | 34 | – | – | – | – |
| La. | Apr. 5 | 31 | – | – | – | 36 | – | – | – | – |
| Pa.*† | Apr. 22 | 185 | – | – | – | 33 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 3 |

*Only one party has acted †Delegates allocated before primary ‖Uncommitted or in doubt
D-Democrat R-Republican **Nonbinding ††Delegates to be chosen at a state party convention ***Delegates unchallenged

# reviewing a Carter-Reagan Faceoff

By E. J. DIONNE Jr.

O what would a Reagan-Carter race be like? A good deal of conventional wisdom argues that Mr. Reagan, the former California Governor and hero of the political right, is nservative to win the general election.

fuel for former President Gerald R. Ford's ial trial balloon was the premise that Mr. *n could not defeat* Mr. Carter. It was quickly ed when it became clear that defeating Mr. n for the Republican nomination was another r entirely.

latest New York Times/CBS News Poll, ed last week, lends some support to that argu- The poll found that while Mr. Ford ran ahead Carter in a test election, 47 percent to 42 per- Mr. Reagan was well behind Mr. Carter, 53 to d while Mr. Ford was rated favorably by 55 nt of those surveyed, Mr. Reagan drew a able response from but 34 percent.

, as Mr. Reagan's supporters would no doubt out, it is worth remembering that just a few s ago, someone named Edward M. Kennedy far ahead of Mr. Carter that the Presidential eemed likely to end in Illinois with an over- ing Kennedy victory. *This is a year in which* ord "volatility" is the leading cliché.

it should be remembered that the polls at this are likely to overestimate Mr. Carter's *th relative to any Republican.* Supporters of licans tend to be wealthier and better edu- than supporters of Democrats, and so more to be registered voters who will cast ballots

of the current reading, Mr. Reagan and Mr. r are strongest where one would expect them Mr. Carter does best in the Middle West and while Mr. Reagan is strongest in the West. arter swamps Mr. Reagan among those under ile Mr. Reagan runs strongest among those en 45 and 64. Older folks, perhaps because of eagan's past criticism of the Social Security n, turn toward Mr. Carter.

contest between Mr. Reagan and the Presi- black Americans will again be a key constituency for Mr. Carter, whose overwhelming margins in black areas helped him carry Southern and *urban Northeastern states against Mr. Ford in 1976.* Mr. Carter now leads Mr. Reagan among whites, 50 to 38. The President's margin among blacks is nearly 7 to 1.

As to how big a base each man has, it is worth noting that 34 percent of the voters say they would back Mr. Carter against both Mr. Ford and Mr. Reagan. Another 26 percent say they would vote for either Mr. Ford or Mr. Reagan against Mr. Carter. That leaves a "volatile" 40 percent, a group that includes many who will probably not vote at all.

Given all the switching so far, this morning lineup is likely to change. Who is likely to move around? One key group to watch is the collection of voters who now say they would vote for Mr. Ford against Mr. Carter, but Mr. Carter against Mr. Reagan. The group constitutes 16 percent of the electorate, according to the current poll, and winning its votes could be a key to victory.

The group could also continue to give Mr. Reagan a lot of trouble. For one thing, the Ford/Carter switchers are much younger than the rest of the electorate. Nearly half of them are under 30, nearly two-thirds are under 45. They rate Mr. Carter's performance favorably by nearly five to three, and are more sympathetic to more Government programs than even consistent Carter backers. In another test of social liberalism, the switchers are more likely to favor the Equal Rights Amendment.

If this is not a hopeful hunting ground for Mr. Reagan, what would be? Many of Mr. Reagan's supporters believe the California Governor will be surprisingly strong among working-class voters, who share some of his socially conservative and hawkish views. And, so far, Mr. Reagan has done extremely well among Republican voters at the lower end of the economic scale. The Reagan campaign believes its tax cut program, fashioned by Representative Jack Kemp and economic adviser Jude Wanniski, will help among working-class voters in the fall. Especially if the economy stays troubled, a program of deep tax cuts might allow Mr. Reagan to appear as a dynamic alternative to a foundering Mr. Carter. So goes the Reagan view.

Nationally, there is no evidence yet of a Reagan breakthrough in the working class. Mr. Carter still runs well ahead of Mr. Reagan among the less well-off. But there is clear evidence of some sharp class divisions that might come back to haunt Mr. Carter. Less well-to-do Americans are strongly in favor of national health insurance; the better-off oppose it. The less well-off are strongly opposed to cutting back Government programs; the well-to-do tend to be more sympathetic. Those who earn little are more likely to blame "big business" for inflation and less likely to blame labor unions; with the well-to-do, it is the other way around.

None of these findings suggest that the less well-off would prefer Mr. Reagan, a budget-cutter not noted for his sympathy to labor. But they do indicate that Mr. Carter's new austerity budget could create difficulties for him in the heart of the Democratic base. If the economically deprived ended up expressing their political views by not voting at all, that could be bad news for Mr. Carter.

The New York Times/Paul Hosefros
Rosalynn Carter in Manhattan last week.

# The World

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*In Summary*

## Iran's Parliament Could Delay on Freeing Hostages

Several hundred petty criminals got a New Year present from Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini last week — their freedom. But for the 50 American hostages, the beginning of the Persian year 1359 offered nothing to celebrate.

After the first of two rounds of voting, incomplete returns showed that Iran's new Parliament, which the Ayatollah has said will decide the hostages' fate, would be dominated by the Islamic Republican Party. That party is itself dominated by clergymen, who could present President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr with strong opposition.

Ayatollah Mohammed Beheshti, the Islamic Republican leader, said the hostages "will not be the first problem the Parliament takes up" when it convenes, probably not until May. (Some losers in the election complained of fraud; Ayatollah Khomeini dismissed the complainers as anti-Islam.)

In The Hague, United States officials asserted that the International Court of Justice for the moment is Washington's best hope of getting the hostages out. It wasn't much of a hope. The court, whose proceedings Teheran has boycotted, last December ordered Iran to release the hostages and was ignored. "No one in this courtroom knows whether the Ayatollah Khomeini will continue to hold the hostages in captivity for a month, a year or for a decade," Chief United States Counsel Roberts B. Owen declared, in summing up three days of oral argument. The United States asked for a prompt decision. But a spokesman for the court said a ruling isn't expected for several weeks.

On Capitol Hill, patience was beginning to wear thin. Richard Lugar, a Republican Senator from Indiana, said the Carter White House should begin planning for a naval blockade and for a mining of Iran's primary ports. His statement was endorsed by the Senate Republican Leader, Howard H. Baker Jr. But United Nations Secretary General Kurt Waldheim cautioned that such threats posed the danger of "an explosion in the area." Instead, he called for more of the conventional negotiations that so far have done little to resolve the crisis.

The crisis would be heightened if the deposed Shah returned to the United States for a spleen operation. Yet Administration officials said he might be allowed back in if his American doctors could not get adequate cooperation from Panamanian health authorities. Hamilton Jordan, the White House Chief of Staff, who obtained Panama's permission for the Shah to go there in December, flew to the Central American nation Friday to mediate the dispute.

## The Other Hostages Are Still Held, Too

Representatives of the Colombian Government and the leftist guerrillas holding more than two dozen diplomatic captives are scheduled to talk tomorrow, something they haven't done since the week before last. It may be an encouraging sign, maybe not.

Foreign Minister Diego Uribe Vargas reiterated last week that the Government would not free the radicals whose release the guerrillas have demanded. Mr. Uribe said the "so-called political prisoners" were responsible for "horrible crimes." Other officials said the Government — which has the army looking over its shoulder — was resisting pressure from countries whose diplomats are among the captives to yield to the guerrillas' demands. But, as if to demonstrate its even-handedness, a military court last week declared the evidence against a man and two women who had been accused of participating in guerrilla actions was flimsy and ordered their release.

Early in the week, one of guerrilla hostages, Fernando Gomez Fyns, the Uruguyan Ambassador, escaped through a second-story window of the Dominican Embassy. There were complaints that he had broken an agreement among the captives that none would do anything to endanger the others. But Mr. Gomez said he fled because he believed he was about to be executed.

## Italy Stumbles, Another 'Crisis'

Italy's latest Christian Democratic Government fell off the wall last week; all its politicians looked unlikely to put a stronger one together soon.

The collapse of Francesco Cossiga's minority Government had been expected since January, when the Christian Democrats solidifying a rightward shift, barred any policymaking role for the second-ranking Communists. The Socialists, Italy's third largest party, threatened to withdraw their key parliamentary support from Mr. Cossiga unless the decision was reversed. It wasn't, and last week the Socialists announced that they would carry out their threat. Before they could, Mr. Cossiga, after eight months as largely a caretaker Prime Minister, resigned the office but will keep the role.

Francesco Cossiga

Bettino Craxi, the Socialist leader, aspires to become Italy's first non-Christian Democratic Prime Minister since World War II, but his party is split between advocates of closer cooperation with the Christian Democrats and those who see more in common with the Communists. The Communists have vowed to oppose any government that excludes them. Few observers see any room for compromise before regional and local elections in late May or early June which will indicate shifts in the parties' electoral support.

The outlook for an early breakthrough in the antiterrorism campaign is equally dim. Last week, three magistrates were assassinated, two by the Red Brigades and the third by Front Line, Italy's other principal leftist terrorist group. The killings brought the number of political deaths in Italy this year to 18.

## Iraqi Nuclear Deal Challenged

"We have gone beyond all possible safeguards and guarantees that are required under international conventions," said an Italian official last week, describing the sale of nuclear research equipment to Iraq.

To the Carter Administration, worried about the spread of nuclear weapons, such assurances were not enough. Officials pointed in particular to the inclusion in the deal of two lead-shielded laboratories, or hot cells, that could be used to extract weapons-grade plutonium from other nuclear substances.

Italy is one of 15 members of the Suppliers Group, countries with nuclear know-how, which two years ago agreed to show restraint in selling "sensitive facilities" to nonmembers. Hot cells, however, are in a gray area. Italy noted last week that the Carter Administration knew of the Iraqi sale beforehand and said nothing; American officials replied that the hot cells being provided are larger and more dangerous than they had originally been led to believe.

Iraq has signed the 1968 treaty banning the spread of nuclear weapons but fears Israel, a nonsignatory believed already capable of producing nuclear arms. Iraq has also contracted to buy a French research reactor. However, delivery has been delayed until 1982 by sabotage — Israeli agents were suspected when the reactor core was blown up in a Toulon warehouse a year ago — and Iraq has agreed to elaborate inspection safeguards.

## Deng Prepares The Succession

"People of my age should really be concerned about arranging for what comes after," Deng Xiaoping, China's most powerful leader, said in an interview a few weeks ago. "By that I mean we must find good and reliable successors so that . . . turmoil will not break out again."

Mr. Deng, of course, knows whereof he speaks; he saw and survived turmoil aplenty before and after the death of Mao Zedong. Rarely in the Communist world, however, have officials of Mr. Deng's stature given up any authority voluntarily. But Mr. Deng, 76 years old and firmly in control after ousting several old Maoists and installing good and reliable associates in their place, seems serious about gradually giving up some of his titles, if not his power. He has already surrendered his post as chief of staff of the Chinese Army and is said to be planning to give up his position as senior Deputy Prime Minister later this year at a meeting of the National People's Congress.

Among the younger men who seem to be in line to replace Mr. Deng in his party and government authority respectively are Hu Yaobang, who was was made General Secretary of the Communist Party last month and promoted to the Politburo Standing Committee, and Zhao Ziyang, also named to the committee. Mr. Deng's plans — if he follows through — could increase pressure on Hua Guofeng, who is both Chairman of the Communist Party and Prime Minister, to follow his example.

Michael Wright
Barbara Slavin and Milt Freudenheim

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# Likelihood of SALT's Demise Changes the Strategic Options

By RICHARD BURT

WASHINGTON — In early January, a week or so after Soviet troops had plunged into Afghanistan, Jimmy Carter took one of the most difficult steps of his Presidency. He asked the Senate to postpone its debate on the new Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty.

Last week, the Administration had to face the even more painful possibility that the treaty, once the centerpiece of its foreign policy, was on its way to oblivion. In a press conference, Mr. Carter seemed to suggest that Washington might renounce the treaty unilaterally. While the State Department subsequently reiterated the Administration's commitment to the agreement, a growing number of officials suggested, in private, that the agreement was as good as dead.

The new mood of gloom reflected a political reality. The Senate, which was skeptical about the treaty even before Moscow's move into Afghanistan, would not want to revive the arms debate this year. But in the view of many experts, including Paul C. Warnke, who negotiated much of the accord, pushing the debate into 1981 would be all but fatal to the agreement. Portions of the treaty, they said, would be obsolete and would have to be renegotiated, tempting both sides to reopen old issues and raise new ones.

Not surprisingly, the implications of entering the 1980's without a new arms accord are viewed in widely different terms. Staunch critics of the treaty maintain that it will free the United States from the unequal constraints on the two sides' nuclear forces. Administratrion supporters assert that without the treaty, Moscow would be permitted to widen its emerging advantage in stragetic power. However, experts on all sides of the issue agree that the declining fortunes of the treaty will force the United States to reassess one of the most important defense decisions in a decade, Mr. Carter's decision last year to develop the MX mobile intercontinental missle.

The MX, which the Air Force wants to begin deploying in 1986, is designed to alleviate the growing vulnerability of existing land-based missiles to a Soviet nuclear first strike, which many strategic specialists argue is becoming the most serious military problem faced by the United States. Under a plan approved by Mr. Carter late last summer, 200 of the new missiles would be shuttled in and out of 4,600 underground concrete launching sites scattered beneath Utah and Nevada. By making it impossible for Moscow to determine the exact location of all 200 of the missiles at any one time, Pentagon planners believe that the temptation for Soviet leaders to consider a first-strike attack would be dramatically reduced.

The MX has had problems from the start. While the Air Force has estimated that the system will cost about $33 billion, a recent study by the Congressional Budget Office said the price-tag could in fact approach $60 billion. Meanwhile, local concern over how the weapon would affect an heretofore unspoiled regions has led even such staunch conservatives as Senators Jake Garn, Republican of Utah, and Paul Laxalt, Republican of Nevada, to voice doubts about the Air Force's deployment plans. Two Presidential candidates nearer the liberal end of the political spectrum, Edward M. Kennedy, Democratic Senator of Massachusetts, and John B. Anderson, Republican Representative of Illinois, argue that funds for the MX could be better spent on beefing up American conventional forces.

David G. Klein

However, it is the likely demise of the new arms treaty that now looms as the biggest threat to MX. A critical provision in the accord would impose a ceiling on the number of individual nuclear warheads that Moscow could put on each of its 1,400 or so land-based rockets. By limiting the total number of warheads Soviet missiles could carry, Moscow would thus be prevented, as long as the provision was in force, from achieving the capacity to knock out the entire MX system by attacking all of the system's 4,600 launching shelters.

But the Central Inteiligence Agency recently concluded that as many as 30 warheads could be placed atop each of Moscow's 300 huge, SS-18 missiles. Many analysts believe that the Soviet Union in the coming decade could easily achieve an ability to make the MX vulnerable to a surprise strike. "We could spend billions for the thing and in 1990 find ourselves in no better shape than we are now," one White House aide commented. Thus, a number of experts now argue that without the treaty's constraints on Soviet warhead deployment, the MX would no longer make sense.

The question now is whether the MX program should be radically revised or scrapped altogether. Air Force officials, pointing out that the treaty's restrictions would have only lasted through 1985, say they have anticipated the threat posed by an increasing number of Soviet warhead numbers in designing the MX. In a recent interview, Gen. Lew Allen Jr, the Air Force Chief of Staff, said that as Soviet warheads increased, the service could build additional launchers for the MX force beyond the now-planned 4,600 sites. He also said that aides had started to examine whether antiballistic missiles could be deployed along with the MX force to give the mobile rockets further protection.

Neither of these options could be easily implemented. Already upset about the disruptions that would be caused by the Air Force's existing plans for the MX, citizens and local politicians in Utah and Nevada are unlikely to take kindly to proposals for expanding the system to 10,000 or more launching sites. And while there is growing interest in defense circles in reviving work on antiballistic missiles, the costs of coupling an ABM system to a force of mobile missiles would be enormous. Relying on antiballistic missiles to protect the MX would also require Washington to renegotiate or pull out of the 1972 ABM treaty with Moscow, a precarius step at a time of severe tensions in the Soviet-American relations.

The controversies surrounding the MX have led some analysts to argue that the weapons should be put to sea. The United States is already deploying the new Trident missile aboard a new class of nuclear-powered submarines. To complement the Trident, several prominent scientists are urging the Administration to deploy the MX aboard smaller, diesel-driven subs that would operate in shallow waters off the United States coasts. Senator Mark O. Hatfield, Republican of Oregon, an ardent proponent of the idea, maintains that the new boats would cost billions less than a land-base MX system.

Senior defense officials are examining the submarine proposal, but many authorities think that it would end up costing more than keeping the missile on land. At the same time, they acknowledge that without the arms accord with Moscow, it has become much more difficult to muster support for the MX. "It sounds strange, but it's true," a White House aide said. "The way to guarantee that the MX will be built would be ratify the SALT treaty."

*Land Reforms Don't Help*

# El Salvador's Junta Unable t Halt the Killin

By ALAN RIDING

MEXICO CITY — There is too much fresh bloo streets and in the fields of El Salvador for anybody i outside the country to pay much attention to the ment's recent reforms. So trapped is the Central Ar nation in a vortex of violence, in fact, that such und radical measures as the breakup of large farms and tionalization of private banks have neither stopped t nor appeased the left. Instead, the measures risk b duced to footnotes in a struggle for absolute power.

Last Monday, just 10 days after the reform decr ist peasant and worker groups called a nationwide st companied by illegal land takeovers and guerrill The armed forces responded by killing more than sons, many of them unarmed. More shooting late week by the armed forces and right-wing "hit squa the death toll of leftist sympathizers this year over Guatemala, hovering vultures led to the discovery F the bodies of two dozen victims of political violence been tortured, shot and buried in a remote canyon.)

El Salvador's military-civilian junta has been u stop the repression of leftist organizations. The fact five-man junta survives at all is a reflection of the cc political disarray. Both extreme left and right can ac state of anarchy, but neither is strong enough to se hold onto power. The junta theoretically sits in the but in practice exercises little authority.

Everywhere, there are divisions and contradicti the left, four Marxist guerrilla groups and four p worker-student organizations are officially working unity but remain at odds on strategy. In the cen Christian Democrat Party holds two junta seats and Cabinet posts, although one of its junta members r resigned and led a party splinter movement.

The armed forces are also divided, not only b conservative and reform-minded officers, but also b the less repressive army and the ferocious National national police and treasury police, known collecti the security forces. Two colonels, one decidedly mor than the other, sit on the junta, but the junta does not the army high command, which in turn seems unable trol the brutality of many lower-ranking soldiers.

On the right, the army high command appears t the conservative view that all "communists" must b nated, yet it nevertheless backed the reforms ai weakening the economic power of the wealthy elit among the affected families have accepted the exp tions passively and, in many cases, have left the c while others are believed to be financing paramilitar that terrorize leftists and moderates alike.

Even the Roman Catholic Church is deeply sp popular and influential Archbishop of San Salvador Oscar Arnulfo Romero, is a strong advocate of huma and shares many leftist views on economic and socia tice. But he is at loggerheads with the president of E dor's Episcopal conference, Bishop Pedro Arnoldo A of San Vicente, who blames Communists for the unre

Until last month, the United States added to th sion by having no clear policy toward El Salvador. decided to intervene. In advance of an ambassac Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-Ameri fairs, James R. Cheek, flew to San Salvador. His fir was to block a right-wing coup to oust the Christian crats from the junta, warning the plotters they woul tracized by Washington. Then he provided the ne push for the land and bank expropriation by offer junta economic and military aid.

Washington's long-term objective is to avert a uprising that could install a Marxist government. immediate challenge facing Ambassador Robert E. who arrived March 9, is to get the army high comr bring repression under control so that the reforms chance to work. "The right-wing violence must be co because it could eventually bring the government said one United States official. "The left is a thres long run, but it has been relatively quiet."

Because the bank nationalization involved a ch ownership but not of management, it has gone relati noticed. The administrative challenge of the land ex tions is greater because first Government officials a peasant cooperatives must run large cotton, cof sugar cane estates that have long been operated by enced farmers. The first stage of the expropriation p involves the takeover this year of 374 estates larger hectares, or 1,235 acres, although in the two weeks s decree, only about 185 farms were seized because of age of Government agronomists able to take charge agement. The main winter harvest period has just however, providing a two-month interlude for orga before planting must begin.

In the meantime, for some tranquillity to retur countryside, ways must be found to involve the m Marxist-led, peasant organizations in the agraria gram. One serious problem is that many landless pe have been led to believe the left would one day giv their own tiny plots to farm. Deterred by the econom of such a political gesture, the Government has retain same productive units and is finding some peasants c sioned at the prospect of cooperatives. Further, at its successful, over the next year the program would b only one-third of the 300,000 landless peasant families.

Yet, in a country where the economic and po structure had remained unchanged for decades an families controlled 75 percent of El Salvador's export ings, these changes remain potentially significant. Th that a group of landowners whose farms were expropr denounced one junta member, Col. Arnoldo Adolfo Ma as a card-carrying Communist seemed to suggest tha reforms were perhaps not as "pseudo" as the left procla Threatened by the reforms, the leftist cause is being alive by the repression.

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A leftist guerrilla beaten by soldiers in San Salva

*Formosa Magazine Staffers Went on Trial for Sedition Last Week*

# Freedom of Expression Remains A Transitory Thing in Taiwan

By JAMES P. STERBA

TAIPEI, Taiwan — Any Taipei taxi driver can tune in mainland Chinese broadcasts on his car radio. Few do, not because it is still against the law to listen, but because Communist programs are rather provincial and boring.

Although, the local press remains subject to post-publication censorship, a remarkable diet of government criticism and mainland news does appear. Foreign publications arrive most of the time without pages missing. Even an issue of Time magazine with arch enemy Deng Xiaoping on its cover found its way to mail subscribers intact, although authorities would not allow the Communist leader's face to adorn newsstands.

For more than a year, in fact, the Kuomintang regime has exhibited uncharacteristic confidence in the ability of Taiwan's 17.5 million people to absorb, calmly and rationally, increasing doses of free speech, news from the outside world, and even domestic debate that has often included sharp criticism of its rule.

Last December, however, the Kuomintang apparently suffered an attack of anxiety, and its subsequent harsh actions have raised doubts about its confidence and questions about the sincerity of its "liberalization" program. Following a small but violent clash between dissidents and riot police in the southwestern city of Kaohsiung, Taiwan's rulers launched a crackdown on their political opponents. The crackdown was severe enough not only to draw outcries from human rights advocates but even to turn the heads of some devoutly pro-Taiwan United States Congressmen.

Several hundred persons around the island were picked up for questioning, sometimes in the middle of the night. Three opposition magazines were closed. At least 67 persons were detained, 26 of them for the capital crime of sedition. Eight of those — all highly educated staff members of a popular monthly called Formosa magazine, which sponsored the Kaohsiung rally — went on trial in a military court here last week.

Sedition on Taiwan is one of those catch-all charges that can apply to everything from fraternizing with mainlanders or advocating an independent Taiwan to political disturbances of the peace, which is how most foreign observers here describe the Kaohsiung clash. Both sides grossly exaggerated the incident. Riot police didn't fight back, but they also didn't give the demonstrators a way out of their rally site — the first rule of peaceable crowd control. The police claimed 183 injuries. The dissidents claimed their ranks were battered too. Other than scratches, however, no more than five or six people on both sides were hurt, according to independent reports.

By all but government accounts, Formosa magazine's purpose was simply to create a viable opposition. Some moderate Taiwanese think the Kuomintang crackdown serves as evidence that it was succeeding, and doing so far too swiftly for Kuomintang comfort. The Kaohsiung affair, with its intricate and dubious threads of conspiracy tied, ironically, to both forces for independence and for reunification, has had its chilling effect.

Far more chilling, however, were the mysterious murders last month of the twin daughters and mother of one of the defendants, Lin Yi-Hsiung. All of a sudden, someone or some group had intensified the affair, but for reasons that escape moderate elements on both sides.

Since its escape from the mainland in 1949, the Kuomintang has consistently attempted to play on popular fears. Both the Korean and Vietnam wars fueled campaigns for vigilance and solidarity in the face of alleged threats from the more numerous mainland Communists.

United States abandonment of Taiwan for recognition of Peking in December, 1978, sent waves of concern, both genuine and orchestrated, through the Taiwan populace. For all but the aging Kuomintang leadership, however, the distress was brief. Nevertheless, the Government used the occasion to postpone national and local assembly elections. The expiration of the United States-Taiwan mutual defense treaty last December generated even less popular concern.

While Taiwan's population remains far more anti-Communist and far less rebellious than Peking would like to believe, its rapidly rising affluence has contributed to a spirit of moderation, openness, and security that the Kuomintang finds increasingiy difficult to manipulate. Officially, Taiwan is still at war with the mainland. A state of siege was proclaimed on May 19, 1949. But for a population in which nine out of ten households have refrigerators, virtually all have televisions, two-thirds have motorcycles, and almost all are educated or in the process of becoming so, the war seems rather dated.

Still, the Taiwan regime uses it to justify the need for a continuation of martial law now in its 31st year — a prime target for a dispersed opposition that has argued that martial law is merely an excuse the minority regime uses to perpetuate its power. Those who fled the mainland in 1949, along with their descendents, represent only about 14 percent of Taiwan's population. Many of Taiwan's most prominent business leaders are Taiwanese who pledge obligatory allegiance only.

Meanwhile, the Communist mainlanders have done nothing lately to disturb anyone on Taiwan except the Kuomintang and its constituents in the military, the security forces, and the bureaucracy. Peking has lately been promising that Taiwan could retain autonomy, its higher standard of living and even its Prime Minister, Chiang Ching-Kuo, if it would rejoin the mainland.

Taiwan's rulers may have made a mistake in publicizing and admitting the foreign press to its sedition trial of the Formosa magazine defendants. Indeed, late in the week Government officials were sharply critical of how the foreign press was covering the proceedings. The vague links in the Government's indictment to the mainland and to independence groups in the United States are precisely the kinds of ties the Government overlooks when commerce is at stake. The point won't be lost on large numbers of sophisticated Taiwanese.

As a result, the Kuomintang may be increasingly restricting itself to an eroding middle rather than embracing and influencing the debate over Taiwan's future that the eight defendents now on trial for sedition were trying to conduct.

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# Arts & Leisure

# The Uneasy World of the Soviet Musical Vanguard

By HARLOW ROBINSON

Two recent events have clearly demonstrated that music, traditionally regarded as the least tendentious of the arts, is still subject to severe politi-ol in the Soviet Union. One was ning official Soviet response in rnaya Gazeta in November to earance in America of "Testi-The Memoirs of Dmitri Shosta-as related to and edited by Volkov. In articles spreading wo-thirds of the last page of the per — which might be consid-a Soviet equivalent of The New view of Books — Mr. Volkov led a "bedbug who latched onto ovich," and the memoirs an lation of scandalous specula-the composer's supposedly em-nature."

g his long lifetime — he died in

Tass from Soyfoto (Khrennikov); Jack Mitchell (Shostakovich)

**Tikhon Khrennikov, left, the longtiome head of the authoritarian Soviet Composers' Union; right, the late Dmitri Shostakovich, recently revealed as privately antagonistic to control of the arts in the Soviet Union.**

Shostakovich was, at least out-the embodiment of the faithful rtist. He made the necessary ficial speeches when asked to, atriotic cantatas, and more or the party line. Thus, the publi-"Testimony," which reveals vich as a composer profoundly et artistic establishment, fell from, and even disgusted by, mbshell on Moscow's intellec-

akovich was always held up to model of the loyal Soviet art-literature professor remarked Now we see that it just wasn't

vious reasons, "Testimony" is ilable in Moscow bookstores or but at least one copy is circu-officially from the Moscow ters of the Composers' Union. g to one young composer, a ember, only those "with enor-fluence" (the Russian word for can hope to obtain that copy. olding Shostakovich specialist managed to read "Testimony" he has questions about the al-eness of the Volkov-Shostako-lationship, but nonetheless s much of the book as coming composer's mouth.

cond event, even more impor-use it deals with living people, fficial denunciation of a group Congress of Composers, held w from Nov. 18 to 25. (All mposers, if they hope to be d or published, must join the rs' Union, which has approxi-,000 members throughout the including musicologists.) resses take place every four o and feature speeches by icials and concerts of new Soviet (and only Soviet) com-

ar, as in the past, the con-s used as a forum to set down litical-creative guidelines for mposers. In his keynote ad-a general assembly in the tsteel Palace of Congresses Kremlin wall — where Leo-ev also makes major policy Tikhon Khrennikov, retary of the Composers' icized certain members of younger generation for ation with "western bour-niques of composition — sound, of sonoristics; Mr. Suslin has been importantly influenced by John Cage and Karlheinz Stockhausen, for whom "melodies" in the traditional sense are hardly the most important consideration; Mr. Knaifel has turned to the nihilistic Yannis Xenakis as an inspiration and model.

What is new about this new generation of composers is their Western orientation. They are much more influenced by the New Viennese School (Schoenberg, Berg, Webern), and by developments in electronic music under Pierre Boulez in France, than by the Russian musical saints: Mussorgsky, Tchaikovsky, even Shostakovich and Prokofiev. All this represents a loosening in Soviet cultural life. Only 20 years ago Schoenberg and "serialism" were still dirty words in the Soviet musical vocabulary, and it was unthinkable for a Soviet composer to write in that style. For a Western observer, of course, it is almost ludicrous that a composer could be politically blacklisted for writing serial music, which is already old hat; in the West a serialist composer is more likely to die from neglect than from oppression.

Significantly, the many concerts of the Sixth Congress did not include one single piece by any of these seven (though Mr. Khrennikov claimed in his speech that they were performed in the Soviet Union "more often than they deserve to be"). One "avant-garde" composer not mentioned on Mr. Khrennikov's list, the Estonian Arvo Part, was to have been performed, but just before the Congress he announced his intentions to emigrate to the West. His scheduled piece was hastily removed from all programs, pasted over with a piece of white paper that blotted out his name. Mr. Part is planning to leave the Soviet Union "within the next two or three months," according to a spokesman for the Composers' Union.

Instead, the programs were filled with music by officially approved composers — of which there is never any shortage — many of them from non-Russian republics. The necessary folk tunes and recognizable melodies were abundant. Many pieces — far too many — were cantatas and symphonic poems based on political texts, like the bombastic finale on an oratorio called "Bread and Songs," based on Leonid Brezhnev's book "Virgin Soil," or the colorless cantata "Poem About the Constitution."

There were a few interesting new works (all the music was less than five years old), such as the "Dzukisky Variations" by the Lithuanian Bronislovas Kutavichus, using a chamber ensemble and tape recorder to produce an unusually subtle and emotionally intense reworking of a simple Lithuanian folk tune.

Most of the seven criticized composers are performed more often abroad than in Russia, the reverse situation to the majority of the "official" Soviet composers on the Sixth Congress programs, performed relatively often in Russia but virtually never abroad.

When these seven, and other "avant-garde" composers, are performed in Moscow, it is most often at small-scale private concerts. I heard one such concert in November, at the House of Composers off Gorky Street, Moscow's main shopping thoroughfare. Perhaps 50 people sat in the hall, most of them composers or people professionally involved in music. The concert was by invitation only and was not advertised to the general public.

Despite his quasi-outcast position, Edison Denisov, the most famous of these seven composers abroad, is in charge of organizing these monthly concerts of new music at the House of Composers. He makes suggestions of works to be performed to the Committee on Repertory, which usually, though not always, approves his selections.

While Mr. Denisov attempts to put these seven composers, and other "unofficial" figures, on the programs, he must balance them to some degree with more "official" music. This was the case that evening; Mr. Artyomov was performed, as well as a student of Mr. Denisov, Sergei Pavlenko, but so were some painfully traditional art-songs in the style of Rachmaninoff by a composer from the other camp.

Indeed, the split between "official" and "non-official," which was obvious that evening, is neatly illustrative of the current situation in Soviet music. On the one hand, there are the "official" composers, conforming to the guidelines set down by Mr. Khrennikov and performed for large audiences. On the other is a small group of Western-leaning composers writing more for each other, and for Paris and Vienna and London, than for Moscow and Leningrad, where they are heard primarily in small, closed settings.

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There are other Soviet "avant-garde" (read: serialist) composers who might have been included on Mr. Khrennikov's blacklist; the selection was arbitrary but definitely representative of a new generation of Soviet composers that has emerged during the past 10 years.

All seven are relatively young and have written atonal and/or serialist works: only Mr. Denisov and Miss Gubaidulina were born before 1940. What links them, and sets them off from their predecessors, is a common interest in the latest developments in serious music in the West, a more universal and less "Russian" self-image, and a preference for the abstract over the programmatic and narrative style that has long been characteristic of the mainstream of Russian music.

Mr. Khrennikov's objections to the younger generation center on its increasing use of musical techniques, such as serialism, that originated and evolved primarily in the West, not in Russia. The Composers' Union has always encouraged Soviet composers to draw on native Soviet (and Russian) sources: folklore, mass songs. This tradition relates to a Soviet-Russian chauvinism (or provincialism) that has been important throughout the history of Russian and Soviet culture. Indeed, in the days of Stalin it was heretical even to suggest that Soviet composers — for example, Shostakovich — had been influenced in any way by Western composers. Mr. Khrennikov's arguments of 1979 are a milder version of Stalinist xenophobia.

The "Khrennikov Seven" also deviate from the Soviet norm in their insufficient attention to melody. As Mr. Khrennikov dutifully remarked, "No matter in what way musical language changes, no matter how much the means of expression are enriched, the foundation of our realistic musical output is always the melodic principle."

The compositions of these seven, and of many other young Soviet composers, no longer employ recognizable melodies. Mr. Artyomov has become intrigued with the possibilities of pure Firsova, Dmitri Smirnov, Aleksandr Knaifel, Viktor Suslin, Viacheslav Artyomov, Sofia Gubaidulina and Edison Denisov — were recently performed as "representative" products of Soviet music at a festival in Cologne, which led Mr. Khrennikov to group them together and accuse them of pandering to the West. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn and Boris Pasternak were in their own time also criticized for playing into the hands of capitalist exploitation.

*Robinson, a Ph.D. candidate Literature at the University nia, Berkeley, has just re-n six months in Moscow.*

**FILM VIEW**

VINCENT CANBY

# Real Life As the Focal Point

In movies, even documentary movies, where everything, including truth, is a matter of appearances, being "real" is not enough. Reality often looks faked or simply unimportant. The camera can lie. In the wrong hands it has an unfortunate way of shifting emphasis to the non-essential detail that illuminates nothing.

There are currently playing first-run in New York four new documentary features, more than at any time that I can remember, including the late 60's when some thought that the documentary form was about to revolutionize the cinema. Though I doubt that these films signal any particular trend, they do define particular values and limitations. It's apparent from the four films — John Lowenthal's "The Trials of Alger Hiss," Ira Wohl's "Best Boy," Glenn Silber and Barry Alexander Brown's "The War at Home" and Maxi Cohen and Joel Gold's "Joe and Maxi" — that the promised revolution has had more to do with the technology of lightweight movie equipment than with the esthetics of cinema. Like the good fiction film, the good documentary film still demands a guiding intelligence, a filmmaker with a point of view.

Of the four new pictures, two ("The Trials of Alger Hiss" and "The War at Home") belong to the kind of general-subject documentary that at one time was represented almost exclusively in this country by the old March of Time series, but time has certainly marched on.

Both "Best Boy" and "Joe and Maxi" recall the work of Albert and David Maysles, who, in the 60's developed camera and sound equipment of such portability that the Maysles brothers could enter the private lives of their subjects and record the details with a minimum of self-consciousness. Without the Maysles, whose films ("Salesman," "Gimme Shelter," etc.) owed much to the pioneering films of Richard Leacock and D.A. Pennebaker, I doubt whether there would ever have been a "Best Boy" or a "Joe and Maxi."

"The Trials of Alger Hiss" and "The War at Home" each explores a particularly dismaying chapter in recent American history, and if "The Trials of Alger Hiss" is the more moving and provocative of the two, it's largely because Mr. Lowenthal, a lawyer-turned-filmmaker, has a protagonist he can see in heroic terms. But "The Trials of Alger Hiss" is much more than the story of Mr. Hiss's two 1949 perjury trials, his nearly four years in prison and his subsequent efforts to clear his name. It's the record of fashions in American political thinking, adventurous and repressive, from the Great Depression through the years of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, the administrations of Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon, the Cold War and the Korean War, the Vietnam War, on through Watergate and the Watergate-prompted backlash represented by the Freedom of Information Act. This act, Mr. Lowenthal is convinced, has forced the government to make public previously classified material that raises serious questions about the manner in which Mr. Hiss was prosecuted.

I suspect that Mr. Lowenthal believes that these disclosures are the most important elements in his film. To the rest of us — to those of us who are not experts on the contradictory details of the Hiss case — the power of the film is not in the proven innocence or guilt of Mr. Hiss but in its recapitulation of history as recorded then, principally in newsreels, and as remembered now, in interviews with Mr. Hiss and with other survivors of that era. This perspective, the gift of time, invests "The Trials of Alger Hiss" with an appreciation for the uses of history that is rare in a documentary movie and virtually non-existent in most of our contemporary fiction films.

"The War at Home" is a much less complex film about a subject that — today, anyway — is nowhere near as controversial as the Hiss case still is. In "The War at Home," Mr. Silber and Mr. Brown recall the radicalization of students at the University of Wisconsin at Madison in the years between 1963 and 1973, from the first peaceful protests against the Vietnam War to the culminating violence on campuses all over the country as the war came to an end.

If "The Trials of Alger Hiss," being centered around a compelling, complicated character who has defied time and fashion, is like reading fiction at its best, "The War at Home" is a little like thumbing through the news magazines of the decade it covers. It has no particular focal point, no hero, no revelations of spirit that contradict what we believe or throw new light on the events it remembers. It's a perfectly adequate film, not especially surprising, a walk down Memory Lane.

"Best Boy" and "Joe and Maxi" are documentaries of an entirely different order, being about ordinary citizens with whom, in each case, the filmmakers have relationships that predate the production of the film.

"Best Boy" is a wonderfully gentle, wise and sympathetic portrait of Mr. Wohl's cousin Philly, a retarded 52-year-old man who, in the course of the production (and possibly as a result of it), begins to make some initial progress in self-reliance. The film is also about the other members of Philly's family, particularly his mother and father; and because Mr. Wohl is a filmmaker in command of his craft and his camera, his movie successfully conveys his love and concern.

Love and concern are, surprisingly, the two qualities most conspicuously absent from "Joe and Maxi," which is about Maxi Cohen's father Joe, a well-to-do, self-made entrepreneur on the Jersey Shore who, in the course of the movie, learns he has cancer and, near the end, dies. This is not, I'm sure, because Miss Cohen does not have love and concern for her father but because as a filmmaker she and her collaborator were not able to express those feelings in any way that we can share. Because "Joe and Maxi" is all about Maxi's frequently expressed feelings, the movie has the effect of giving short shrift to everyone else, especially her father.

Miss Cohen and Mr. Gold were undoubtedly photographing real family get-togethers, real anxieties and real sorrows, but "Joe and Maxi" looks like an ego trip. True doesn't look real.

In the heady, home-film boom of the 60's all sorts of unlikely people took up the camera to capture truth at 24 frames per second. Norman Mailer, in a brief sabbatical from what he does best, produced three feature-length psychodramas, culminating in his "Gone With the Wind" called "Maidstone." Andy Warhol, with the expert assistance of Paul Morrissey, pioneered a sort of impromptu fiction that might be called docu-camp. Canadian filmmaker Allan King, who made "Warrendale," a fine, comparatively straight documentary about disturbed children, took his camera crew and more or less moved in with a married couple (both of whom happened to be failed actors) to make a film about a "real" marriage. It was called "A Married Couple," and it looked less like a real marriage than like a couple of married actors trying their best to act like real people.

Though "Best Boy" works nicely, the camera isn't a reliable tool for therapy. It keeps getting in the way. In "David Holtzman's Diary," Jim McBride's classic send-up of the camera-mad 60's generation, the best friend and editor of the movie-obsessed hero, who is filming his own life to get a fix on it, criticizes the hero's use of his girlfriend as the girlfriend in the movie-within-the-movie. "She's ridiculous," the friend says. "She's trite. She behaves melodramatically. She's just not credible."

"David Holtzman's Diary," which was made in 1967, is still the last word on the so-called "real" cinema.

**SPORTS OF THE TIMES**

# Thrice and Quintuplet Champion

By RED SMITH

MIAMI BEACH

THE voice that answered the telephone was sleepy and instantly familiar. "I'm just sittin' waiting for calls from the Tate people and Bob Arum," Muhammad Ali said from his home in Los Angeles. "Gotta get things set. If it falls through, Holmes is standing on back."

The thrice-and-who-knows-what heavyweight champion of the world had been down here preparing to become unretired, training for a tuneup match with Scott LeDoux to be followed by a fight with John Tate, custodian of the World Boxing Association title that Ali relinquished voluntarily last June. Then Tuesday night word came that the LeDoux bout was off — "It never was on," said Angelo Dundee, Muhammad's trainer — and Ali took off for California. "I guess he got homesick," Angelo said.

Now on the phone, Ali said Arum was still trying to promote a Tate match and if that didn't work he would take on Larry Holmes, the World Boxing Council's champion.

"I can't wait," Ali said. "I want 'em both, Tate first, then Holmes. I know I can beat 'em both. The Cuban fella stopped Tate. That shows he can be hit, and he'll fall if he's hit right."

The Cuban fella, Teofilo Stevenson, defeated Tate in the amateurs.

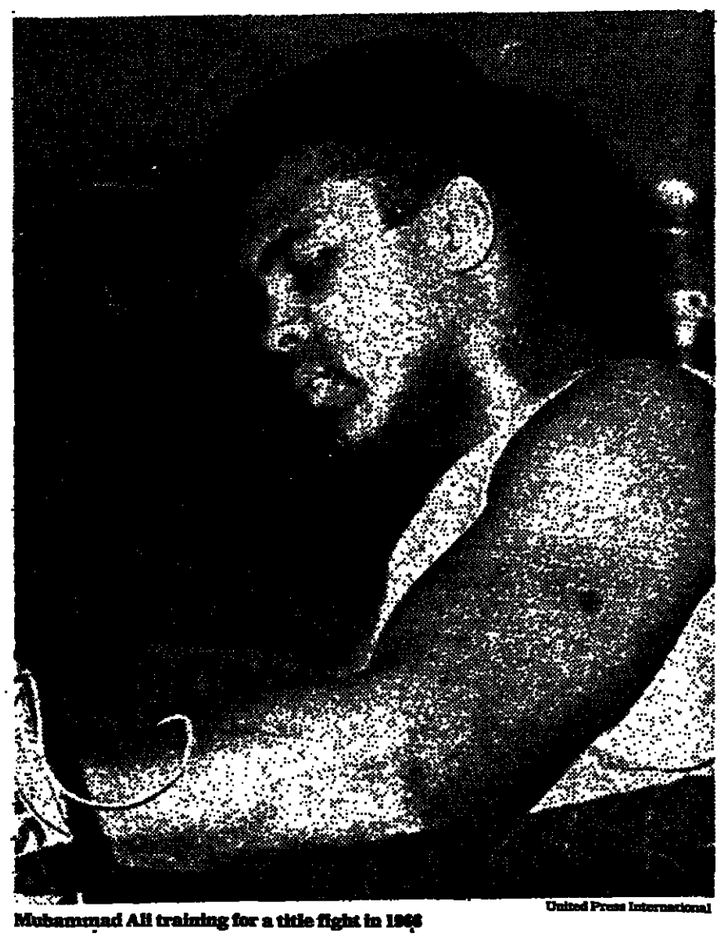
Ali said that Wednesday morning, not many hours after arriving home, he got up and ran four miles. How soon could he get in shape to fight?

"If I had to, eight weeks. I can make it back. What makes it all beautiful, the people don't believe I can do it. If they believed me, it wouldn't be no fun. Hold on a minute now — ."

There were sounds as of buttons being pushed, dealing with other calls. Then the sleepy voice: "They didn't believe I could whup Liston. They didn't believe I could beat Foreman. They didn't think I could beat Spinks second time around. They didn't believe I could beat Frazier, Norton. They didn't think I could beat the draft.

"I'm 38. Sugar Ray Robinson was fightin' when he was 41. We all live in our own world of limitations. Most people, they look at their limitations and they're scared. What's your phone number? Anything new comes up, I'll call you."

"I've been with him since he was 16," Dundee said in his office here,



United Press International

**Muhammad Ali training for a title fight in 1968**

"and nothing he does can amaze me anymore. Anything he does, he's got to do on his own volition. He needs something to shoot for. He wanted to win the Olympics. Then he wanted to win the title. He wanted a tomato-red Cadillac. Then he wanted to own his own training camp.

"He wanted to hold the title twice, then three times. Now I think he wants to be a quadruplet champion. Maybe a quintuplet."

Whenever another multimillion-dollar purse is in prospect, there is talk in the fight mob that Ali needs the money.

"I don't think he's doing it for bread," Angie said. "I think somebody put it in his head. I think maybe a guy on a street corner said: 'Hey, you can be a quintuplet champion. You can beat Tate. That's four titles. You can beat Holmes. That's five.'

"The key is, he's got to be dedicated. He's got to do something nobody's ever done. He misses the media, and that's his thing."

Recent photographs showing Ali's waistline in profile looked like advertisements for a horror film.

"The belly?" Angelo said. "He blows it up for photographers. He was fatter when he came back from Africa." Touring for the State Department to persuade African countries to boycott the Moscow Olympics, Ali did little for American diplomacy, but he did generously for the diplomat. He weighed more than 250 pounds on his return.

"Down here lately his legs looked good. He has plenty of bounce. He was even shuffling. My wife told him, 'The only thing happens to you, your weight shifts.' She meant from his belly to his butt. He was down to 242 when he left here, and he wouldn't go in the ring under 228, so how bad off is he?

"He was staying at the Newport Hotel, and he came to the gym on foot, 11 miles in all the traffic and bus drivers waving at him and hollering. That's his thing.

At last report, Arum was still talking of a Tate match in Taiwan or maybe the Superdome in New Orleans in late June or July. Rodrigo Sánchez, the W.B.A. president, had said Ali would have to fight a ranked boxer and gain a ranking for himself before he could go for the title, and Arum was saying he need merely spar with a contender.

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# Poor America

Quick: How do Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan rate the strengths and weaknesses of America for the next four years? What would they do to prevent the deterioration of the Western alliance, or to contain and coexist with Soviet power?

We don't know either. Tuesday after Tuesday, in anointing these two men to vie for the leadership of the free world, Americans have been rewarding a cynical reclusiveness by the one and much simplistic nonsense from the other. You would think the nation's peace and prosperity depend now on Mr. Carter's alleged preoccupation with the Teheran hostages and Mr. Reagan's resolve to increase military spending and Voice of America propaganda. The President runs on a record that has found him on almost every side of every global issue. His likely challenger is a man who would rather fight than negotiate for the Panama Canal and threaten the Russians with every known weapon except a politically inconvenient grain embargo.

We are not now deploring the political process that dignifies this level of discussion; no system alone can guarantee intelligent debate. Nor should the despair of spring be allowed to sap all meaning from the choice next autumn; however drearily, it usually matters who finally wins. For the moment, we wonder only whether Americans are not secretly content with this political pablum. It saves us all, as well as the candidates, from digesting a hard reality.

•

The neglected reality is American weakness — but not as measured in missiles, or captured diplomats or bungled votes at the United Nations. If these are significant at all, they are mere symptoms of a deeper infirmity. America is not in imminent military danger. Its economic potential, by almost every standard, remains pre-eminent. It is the most naturally blessed nation. It still proclaims the most appealing ideology.

But increasingly, America lacks the wealth to satisfy its will. Rich as it is, it cannot afford the material and political ambitions, commitments and values that it embraced a generation ago. The Russians are no longer easily contained because they have matched America in military power. Allies are turning into rivals because some have overtaken America in both productive power and energy dependence. The rest of the world is no longer easy to pacify because it can now choose among rival benefactors, and parts of it are very rich besides.

There exists, in short, an imbalance between American means and ends in the world. That explains the true frustration in Iran, the vulnerability in Afghanistan, the rejection by Pakistan, the fear of imports from Japan. Proclamations of doctrine by Jimmy Carter and of superiority by Ronald Reagan are almost beside the point. So are efforts to distinguish "foreign" from "domestic" policies. Americans in 1980 face one overriding choice: either trim sail abroad and lower the standard of living at home, or rally the society for a mighty new surge of wealth-creating production.

As should have been obvious long ago, America's strength, except in war, depends entirely on its *relative* wealth. There can be no significant limit in the arms race, no détente and no containment, unless the Russians fear being outspent and outmaneuvered. They will not be outspent or outmaneuvered by the democracies until the allies can afford to curb their rivalries for trade and energy. There will be no stability in the weaker nations, as Mr. Carter asks, or even respect, as Mr. Reagan demands, until they are earned with vast new programs of Western aid and investment. And there will be no reliable prosperity in America until all these foreign objectives are served.

An honest campaign would concede that large American ambitions have in fact been compromised in the years of our relative decline. China is now embraced as a virtual brother-in-arms. Indochina, like Eastern Europe, now invites mostly rhetorical interest. But an honest campaign would also recognize the inevitable connections between American freedom and wealth, and between wealth and the resources and potential customers of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The wealth of Europe and Japan should count on America's side of the ledger, but the allies are in a mood to accommodate to any oil price, and to other Afghanistans, unless they get a firmer demonstration of American direction and muscle. We can call them ingrates and go on consuming our wealth and adding to our missiles. Or we can debate the sacrifices required to revive our industrial power, the only meaningful coin in a peaceful world.

# Welfare's Old Dollars, and New Hurt

As we have often urged, Washington should be paying a much greater share of welfare costs for the nation's poor and thus relieve the hardship that keeps falling on states and cities. But the President and Congress are now cutting their budget and the poor stand to get less, not more, from the Federal Government. There seems, then, to be only one answer: New York State needs to raise the grants for welfare families, and New York City, strapped though it is, should pay its share.

Try not to think about this problem only in the abstract. Consider a welfare family of four. It currently receives a cash grant of $258 a month — the amount set in 1974 on the basis of *1972* prices — plus $116 in food stamps. (Food stamps, fortunately, have more than doubled since 1974.) Now adjust that family's budget for the inflation between 1972 and 1980, to see what it has effectively lost:

| | Present Grant | Inflation Adjusted | Loss Since 1974 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Food (cash & stamps) | $252 | $386 | $134 |
| Household expense | 26 | 42 | 16 |
| Transportation | 11 | 18 | 7 |
| Clothing | 49 | 67 | 18 |
| Personal care | 15 | 24 | 9 |
| Other family needs | 7 | 12 | 5 |
| Utilities, telephone | 14 | 37 | 23 |
| TOTALS | $374 | $586 | $212 |

Plainly, inflation has devastated welfare families, despite a further rent supplement of up to $218, and medical care. Think of four people having only $11 for a month's transportation: enough to pay for 11 round-trip subway rides. Think of meeting a month's telephone and utility bills with $14. In the joint appeal by the city's religious leaders to Governor Carey and the Legislature, Roman Catholic Bishop Mugavero of Brooklyn said thousands of families in his diocese lack money to buy food, let alone pay for rent and heat.

According to welfare officials, more and more subsidized families are accumulating debts to pay expenses. Some aren't paying their rent, utility and food bills. As a result, merchants and landlords face losses that increasingly jeopardize businesses and property. Increasingly, too, welfare administrators are being asked to withhold money from welfare checks to insure payment of rent and utility bills.

Of the three levels of government that contribute to welfare payments, New York City's is least able to afford an increase. The state and Federal budgets are not in much better shape. But this is one area where society cannot afford to answer, "No." The "savings" that have been made in welfare, through inflation, for seven years have been taken out of the hides of the 1.3 million poorest New Yorkers, most of them children.

There is *no* prospect now of changing the formula by which the state and city must *each* pay about one quarter of any increase. It would cost about $185 million of state and local funds to obtain a matching contribution of $185 million from Washington and thus to finance a 21 percent increase in welfare payments. Since the food stamp bonus withers as more cash assistance is provided, that amount would yield a net increase of 13 percent in actual grants. It would cost the state about $92 million, the city $85 million, and other local governments the rest. They simply have to find a way.

## Topics

# Census Givers and Takers

### Self-Inflicted Wound

New York officials are gravely worried about what Washington will now do to Federal aid for the city and state. But Albany, meanwhile, seems stubbornly willing to risk losing hundreds of millions in Federal aid to which New York will be entitled in the 1980's.

The money in some 50 Federal aid programs is distributed according to population. For every person not counted in the Census, especially for every poor person not counted, a community loses money. If the 1970 Census had not undercounted, New York City would be getting an additional $50 million or more, every year.

A minor bill in Albany aims to recover some of that lost fortune. It would spend $3 million for a public education campaign, particularly in communities where hostility to officialdom is common and the undercount has been high. New York City has been banking on the legislation and the campaign is ready to go, thanks to public-spirited work by advertising agencies. Ideally, it should have already started. The Census begins on April 1, only nine days from now. But the bill is still not law.

Governor Carey, fed up with repeated breaches of budget discipline by the Legislature, resists treating yet another bill as exceptional. And it is true, the Legislature should have stayed within the regular budget process. But to insist on that now is to ignore the calendar. A campaign to persuade people to be counted can do no good once the counting has stopped. This measure is exceptional, and unless the Governor and Legislature rush it along, all they'll have left to count is how many Federal millions they have lost.

■

### Woman's Work

"You know what the problem is? There aren't any *housewives* any more." The speaker was a Census official worried that not enough people have signed up to be enumerators for the 1980 Census that starts April 1. In 1920, or 1940, or even 1970, being a census-taker was ideal work for women who stayed home most of the time. The job lasts for only a few weeks. The pay is at least passable for a casual job; this year, $4 to $5 an hour is the bare minimum. The work is interesting. And it is imbued with an air of sensible good citizenship.

But as the Census Bureau's own figures show, the term "housewife" is under double challenge. Women are considerably less likely to be wives, or mothers, than even a decade ago. And they are much less likely to stay in the house. In the 1970's, the job rate for those aged 25 to 34 went from 45 percent to 62 percent. Many fewer want casual work, even if it is patriotic.

Census officials hope, consequently, that many college students and others will call to fill the jobs (212-620-3775 in the New York area). We share the hope, but we're still preoccupied by all those former housewife-enumerators. They suggest something about the way our society organized itself in a time when few women worked, and many of those who did were apt to be nurses, say, or teachers.

Society got an immensely big intellectual bang for the buck. It probably should be no surprise that it used to be easy to find able census-takers, or that college freshmen 50 years ago did better on the same English test than their counterparts do now. Many women of exceptional intelligence used to take teaching jobs at public school salaries. Their counterparts today are partners in law firms or book publishers or advertising executives and are paid accordingly. Society has not, meanwhile, raised public school salaries accordingly. But it has paid.

## Letters

# Who Will Turn Our Country Away From Disaster?

To the Editor:

This nation is on the precipice of an economic, political, military and social crisis that may overshadow the crisis of the 1930's. In that great descent from prosperity, our parents anguished through a decade of mass unemployment, despair and hopelessness. There followed the carnage of World War II.

The present situation contains once again the potential for mass unemployment. But it also contains the potential for hyperinflation, an economic catastrophe unfamiliar to most Americans. Runaway inflation usually culminates in the destruction of the monetary system and people's lifetime savings. If the current economic predicament degenerates into mass unemployment or hyperinflation, the prospects for global war — and in our era this means nuclear war — are heightened.

It is essential that the United States rapidly and humanely stabilize its economy. Stabilization requires an understanding of the structural problems reflected in a declining standard of living and accelerating inflation. The nation must embark on a major program of capital accumulation and economic and social restructuring.

We must rebuild and centralize our cities; we must rebuild our public transportation systems; we must retool and modernize our Midwestern auto/steel industrial complex; we must fashion an energy program that does not rely on foreign oil or nuclear power; we must resolve the environmental problems caused by material growth; we must settle the burning issue of income distribution through compromise, not conflict, and, finally, we must rekindle hope in a people confused and demoralized by the failures of the past decade.

A progressive program for achieving these objectives requires a political leader capable of unifying the nation's disparate constituencies. That leader must articulate a comprehensive program to achieve price stabilization and economic restru[illegible] and such a program should inc[illegible]

- Replacement of monopoly over prices with a comprehen[illegible] tem of public wage, price, p[illegible] interest-rate controls.
- Replacement of the pow[illegible] companies to "tax" the public high gasoline and oil prices comprehensive system of gas [illegible] tioning.
- Reduction in deficit spe[illegible] consumers, corporations and [illegible] eral Government by contain[illegible] financed expenditures.
- A floor on income for all [illegible] cans sufficient to provide [illegible] diets, warm and safe housing [illegible] quate medical care.
- Tripartite boards with [illegible] resentation of government, [illegible] management, to coordinate [illegible] tate the complex investment [illegible] necessary to rebuild the [illegible] economy.

This is clearly not the pro[illegible] the Carter Administration [illegible] conservative Republic[illegible] These candidates are more cl[illegible] sociated with the present stal[illegible] efforts of the Federal Reser[illegible] which manipulates interest [illegible] credit, and its allies in Cong[illegible] the Administration, who too[illegible] eral spending and taxes.

These people are presi[illegible] barked on an uncoordinated [illegible] vy-handed effort to restrain [illegible] focusing their frenzy on the [illegible] the weak and the unorganize[illegible] derly reduction in deficit spe[illegible] an essential element in any [illegible] stabilization program. How[illegible] ill-conceived efforts curren[illegible] pursued will either leave us w[illegible] erating inflation or, if vigor[illegible] sued, run the risk of creati[illegible] unemployment.

In calmer times, the mone[illegible] fiscal authorities could pr[illegible] alter the course of the eco[illegible] carefully calculated maneu[illegible] No opportunity for such mast[illegible] today. The economic syste[illegible] anced on a knife edge, reflec[illegible] than a decade of economic [illegible] and military conflict. This [illegible] situation implies that po[illegible] signed to massively restrict [illegible] may initiate cumulative ch[illegible] forces which, once in motion [illegible] yond our control.

Given the potential for di[illegible] ill-behooves the Carter Admi[illegible] to permit the Federal Rese[illegible] and Congress to initiate de[illegible] policies similar to those eng[illegible] the Hoover Administration in [illegible] 1930's.

LEONARD A[illegible]
Professor of E[illegible]
University of Mas[illegible]
Amherst, Mass., Mar[illegible]

## The Carter Limit on Democratic Choices

To the Editor:

Tom Wicker writes (column March 9) that Jimmy Carter has proven an ineffectual leader and that many find fault with the Kennedy candidacy. Why then are there not more moderately left and progressive candidates for Democrats to choose from?

The answer is that the Carter Administration wrote the nominating rules for 1980 to discourage alternative candidates, maximize the advantages of incumbency and make virtually impossible late entries into the nominating race. It did this intentionally, with quite predictable consequences.

Since 1976, the Carter Administration has controlled both the Democratic National Committee, which supervises compliance with the rules it endorses, and the "reform" commission (the Winograd Commission), whose job it was to devise rules that would further the Carter candidacy. The media paid little attention to these developments, and now it is left wondering how the present situation developed. The media did not execute its public responsibilities well in this matter at the appropriate time. There is not much that can be done about the situation now.

The choice for Democrats is between Jimmy Carter and Edward Kennedy. As the Carter Administration planned, there is no realistic hope for any other serious candidacies now that the nominating season is under way. Given this choice, and the Carter Administration's sorry record over the last four years, the decision should not be all that difficult.

WILLIAM CROTTY
Professor of Political Science
Northwestern University
Evanston, Ill., March 12, 1980

## A Kennedy Flip-Flop on Mideast Peace Talks

To the Editor:

I was astonished to hear Senator Kennedy, in the course of his criticism of President Carter's Middle East policy on "Face the Nation" (March 9), cite the President's action in October 1977 in attempting to bring the Soviets into the Middle East peace process. I assume that the Senator had in mind the United States-Soviet communiqué of that month.

As the former U.S. Ambassador to Egypt, I recall all too well a visit to Cairo by Senator Kennedy in 1976 in which the thrust of his presentation to all who would listen was the need to bring the Soviets into the Middle East peace negotiations.

It was indeed an arguable point at that time whether the Soviets should be brought in or continue to be excluded. A number of eminent American statesmen, considerably more knowledgeable of Middle East peace dynamics than the Senator, argued for such Soviet inclusion. Yet a year later, when President Carter sought to do just that in an effort to reconvene the Geneva Conference, the overwhelming view of the Congress and the American public was opposition.

I have always questioned the values of Soviet participation in Middle East peace negotiations. I do, nevertheless, find it unconscionable that the Senator should now criticize President Carter for having sought to do something the Senator himself so strongly advocated only a year earlier.

Senator Kennedy has a right to change his mind about his earlier position, but integrity and candor should at least require him to give some explanation for his flip-flop on this issue. I would hope it is something more than what one eminent Middle East leader scoffingly described as "American electoral auctioneering."

HERMANN FREDERICK EILTS
Wellesley, Mass., March 11, 1980

## The Longest Word

To the Editor:

Regarding your March 16 editorial "Sesquipedalia," anyone worth his coal dust would know that both *antidisestablishmentarianism* (12 syllables and 28 letters) and *floccinaucinihilipilification* (12 + 29) are but a poor second to *pneumonoultramicroscopicsilicovolcanoconiosis* (19 + 45).

DAVID W. ABEL
New York, March 16, 1980

## Politics vs. Economi[illegible]

To the Editor:

Time and time again, [illegible] Federal policy and prog[illegible] being influenced by the P[illegible] role as a candidate for re-ele[illegible] March 15 news analysis[illegible] Smith reports that "Jimmy [illegible] attempting not only to reco[illegible] tion from runaway inflation [illegible] rob his political opponents [illegible] potentially the most explosi[illegible] the 1980 election."

Political considerations [illegible] held Mr. Carter back fr[illegible] something about inflation m[illegible] months ago, when firm and [illegible] action would have been mu[illegible] tive than it will be today. W[illegible] move Presidential if not part[illegible] from the vitally serious ta[illegible] running our Government to[illegible] ing an elected President to [illegible] term — perhaps of six years [illegible] critics have proposed. Afte[illegible] have already gone part [illegible] stricting Presidents to tw[illegible] terms.

ROBERT KO[illegible]
Williamstown, Mass., Mar[illegible]

## Black Youths' Plight — Ignored at the Nation's Peril

To the Editor:

Statistics often have a numbing effect. Convert a political and social problem into statistics, and the human reality recedes the more we toy with the figures.

On any given day we are likely to read that 30 or 35 or even 45 percent of black teen-agers are unemployed, each 5 percent of these guesstimates representing a few hundred thousand human individuals with stunted lives and barren hopes.

Let us therefore leave statistics aside just this once, recognizing that such statements as "7.5 million blacks live below the poverty line" have to struggle for attention with 18.5 percent interest rates and 9.5 billion barrels of Saudi Arabian oil. It would take a supreme optimist to assert that the first statistic gains a respectable fraction of the attention easily commanded by the latter two.

In early March, thousands of black organizers and activists responded to the call of Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind., to assemble in Richmond to devise a Black Agenda for the 1980's. None of the Presidential candidates responded to the invitation to address this assembly.

Few would challenge the general interpretation of this poignant fact: the greatest single factor in the election of Jimmy Carter in 1976, namely the Afro-American vote, has been a striking non-factor in the electoral race so far this year.

Of course, we all know that the Democrats will begin serious courting of the black vote when the real race commences, against the Republican nominee. Black voters will then have a choice that is now approaching the level of tragicomedy: to vote enthusiastically or without enthusiasm for whoever happens to be the Democratic candidate for President.

The 1980 elections are regularly portrayed as being about the crisis in foreign policy, energy conservation, high inflation rates, military parity and so on. With the possible exception of Ted Kennedy, no one speaks about the crisis of persistent poverty, of the utter wretchedness of inner-city life, of the "death" at an early age of millions of minority youths.

Who knows what social catastrophe lies ahead as youths, condemned to environments that only generate a desire among them to deface, destroy and even terrorize it, decide to wreak collective vengeance on the more comfortable world outside, a world preoccupied with its oil bills and mortgage rates?

I assume that after a d[illegible] "throwing money" at a socia[illegible] problem which seems to inc[illegible] lentlessly, there is a norma[illegible] reaction to shun it, skirt [illegible] cities and concentrate on m[illegible] ageable problems. Many pe[illegible] flicted with what turns out to [illegible] illness often behave in this wa[illegible]

The current weak state of [illegible] ganizations, the "benign ne[illegible] the wider community, the abs[illegible] cohesive black leadership [illegible] ent black political strategy [illegible] creating a vacuum that coul[illegible] be pierced by a violent upheav[illegible] as America has not experi[illegible] modern times. We would [illegible] cause to observe that politi[illegible] 1980's is about much more [illegible] had big Mo or little Mo com[illegible]

RICHARD A[illegible]
Senior Lecturer in Gov[illegible]
and Afro-America[illegible]
Dartmouth
Hanover, N.H., Marc[illegible]

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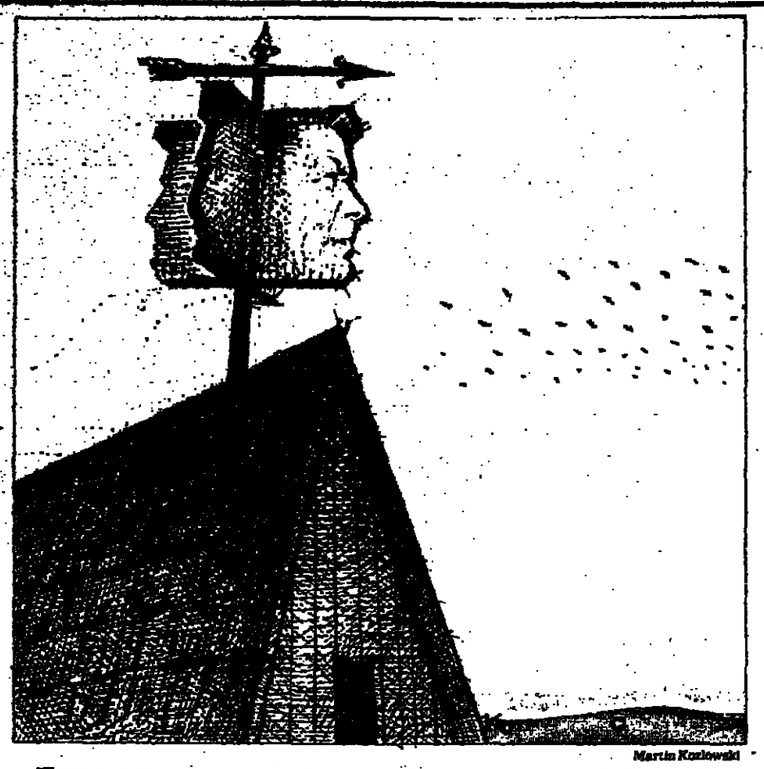
# Reagan, Examined

By Michael Calabrese

CINGTON — Ronald Reagan starring on the political stage that audiences assume they script and ideological cues by ...e is Mr. Conservative, a True ... Mr. Reagan perpetuates this with right-wing rhetoric that his more moderate record as ... of California from 1967 to was neither half as bad as nor a quarter as good as tives believe. That he can be accomplished his conser- ...als or promises, and actually ...on his record without seri- ...tal from the news media, is a his McLuhanesque mastery management.

this month, Mr. Reagan told that "I've been running on ...rd." Unfortunately for Mr. some California Republicans r that record. A letter writ- ...d by six prominent Republi- ...legislators to uncommitted ... delegates just before the ... National Convention is ...ulated again. It documents ...r policy areas where Mr. ...real record appears to be at ...his 1980 campaign rhetoric. ...er, printed on the stationery ...t Stevens, a former Republi- ...tor, states: "We supported ...s California campaigns ... ...publicans and as responsible ...ficials, we cannot sit idly by ... and hear the Reagan record ... by Governor Reagan."



Martin Kozlowski

They express conservatives' discomfort with Mr. Reagan on the issues he has made the very focus of his campaign and the difference between himself and the unorthodox Representative John B. Anderson: welfare reform, abortion, taxes and the Equal Rights Amendment.

Mr. Reagan repeatedly boasts that his Welfare Reform Act of 1971 slashed the rolls by 364,630 and saved taxpayers "almost $2 billion" in taxes. But the legislators wrote that "though Governor Reagan's welfare reform saved some money — estimated at $40 million, not $2 billion as claimed — the total number of recipients on welfare in California nearly *doubled* (and costs *tripled*) *during the Reagan years* while the state's population *growth rate* decreased from 3 percent to 1 percent per year."

A former Republican Senator, William Bagley, the principal sponsor of the reform bill, explained the other day why Mr. Reagan claims his reform reduced the rolls. "We didn't reduce the incidence of welfare, but 750,000 children weren't born [as a result of abortions] and 250,000 of those abortions were paid for by Medi-Cal [California's Medicaid]." If those 250,000 children had been born, they would have turned up on the welfare rolls.

Some 105,000 adults who left the welfare rolls during the Reagan administration had been unemployed. They didn't leave the rolls because of his reforms but rather when employment increased by 200,000 during the months in 1971 *before* welfare reform took effect. The economic upturn resulted largely from the the Lockheed bailout in Los Angeles and Richard M. Nixon's wage and price controls, which Mr. Reagan loyally defended.

Mr. Reagan now tells pro-life groups he was unaware that "loopholes" in liberal abortion legislation he signed would pave the way for more than one million abortions. But his own press release of June 3, 1967, asked Californians to "support the humanitarian goals of this measure." The six legislators wrote that "for each of the seven years after 1967 Governor Reagan signed expenditure legislation . . . triggering Federal funds to finance these abortions."

The California legislators also argued that without Mr. Reagan's active support, the Equal Rights Amendment might never have passed the California Senate.

*On tax-cutting, they noted* that although Mr. Reagan accurately claimed he had rebated $5.7 billion to taxpayers — he is still saying that today — "new tax collection from newly imposed rate increases *alone* (factoring out inflation) totaled *$21.3 billion,*" during his administration. He not only lifted the top personal income tax bracket from 7 to 11 percent but also he narrowed the tax brackets, thereby soaking middle-class taxpayers. State income-tax revenue quadrupled, sales-tax income tripled and property-tax revenue more than doubled. After inflation hit in 1974, Mr. Reagan's new tax rates created a mammoth, recurring surplus that inadvertently led to the backlash made manifest in Proposition 13.

Leaving a conservative legacy in legislation or accomplishment was an objective that Mr. Reagan failed miserably to reach.

Just before the 1976 Republican convention, the California legislators offered their delegates advice that all Republicans need consider today: "We care and we know you care about a Republican victory in November. . . . Please know former Governor Carter will know and use these facts. Do not give him that opportunity."

*Michael Calabrese, who wrote "Who Runs Congress?" with Mark J. Green, is preparing "political truth-in-packaging profiles" on the Presidential candidates for Ralph Nader.*

*FOREIGN AFFAIRS*

# America's Credibility

By Mohammed Heikal

CAIRO — Most people in the Middle East view current United States policy with profound skepticism, believing American decision-making to be determined by President Carter's tactical considerations in the Presidential campaign and not by the permanent requirements of United States strategy.

*This conviction, which is so widely* held as to constitute a political reality, was given further credence by Mr. Carter's retraction of the American vote on the Security Council resolution condemning Israeli settlements in the occupied territories. Even the Arabs, for all that they are accused of having an *idée fixe* on the question of Jewish influence over the system, news media and public opinion in the United States, never imagined that the personal interests of the President could overshadow the vital interests of the United States.

In fact, the credibility crisis facing American policies in the region extends beyond the Arab-Israeli conflict into other issues, like the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan, the security of the Persian Gulf and the energy crisis.

During a recent visit to Iran, I met with President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr, who spoke to me of Iran's three conditions for a settlement of the hostage problem: that the United States confess that it was guilty of forcibly maintaining the Shah in power from 1953, when he was reinstated on the Peacock Throne by a Central Intelligence Agency-engineered coup, to 1978, when he was swept away by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's revolution; that the United States pledge not to intervene in Iran's internal affairs; and that the United States refrain from obstructing Iran's efforts to extradite the Shah and recover his wealth.

Recalling that Nikita S. Khrushchev had told me in 1964 that fully one half of a superpower's clout lay in the prestige it could command, I repeated this to Mr. Bani-Sadr, adding that the United States would not be likely to agree to the first condition. In his usual earthy style, Mr. Khrushchev had likened a superpower's prestige to virginity, the loss of which, in his words, "transforms a superpower into a prostitute." I added that even in terms of *Realpolitik*, President Carter could not alone be held responsible for America's support of the Shah, which was a policy first adopted by Dwight D. Eisenhower and consolidated by four successive Administrations before his own. Why should the incumbent President pay the full price, when five of his predecessors were equally guilty?

Mr. Bani-Sadr replied: "Even assuming Carter is not wholly to blame — although I believe guilt here is indivisible — the fact is that it was his decision to allow the deposed Shah into the U.S. which directly triggered the hostage crisis." Picking up a pencil, he said, "Let us calculate the costs of his blunder."

For Mr. Bani-Sadr, who studied economics at the Sorbonne, figures hold a special fascination. His estimate of the costs: many billions of dollars, carried not only by Iran and the United States but also by the whole world. The figure included expenses of the American military buildup in the region, military and economic aid to its regional allies, and the increase in oil prices resulting from the crisis situation in the Gulf, the ban on exporting Iranian oil to the United States and the freezing of Iranian Government assets deposited in the United States. It also covered the costs of TV, radio and press coverage of the hostage crisis. To these astronomical material costs, Mr. Bani-Sadr added others that could not be calculated in figures: the time wasted, the energy expended, the disequilibrium generated and, finally, the psychological pressures to which so many, especially in the United States, have been subjected. Pointing to his list, Mr. Bani-Sadr wondered aloud: "Why is it so difficult for Carter to admit his mistake? No man should be above truth."

His words rang in my ears as I followed, in stunned disbelief, the news of President Carter's disavowal of the Security Council vote. Like many others, I saw this move as an attempt to woo the Jewish vote, especially in the New York primary. It was not a coincidence that shortly before announcing his decision, President Carter met in succession with his campaign chief, Robert Strauss, and the Israeli Ambassador, Ephraim Evron.

Those of us living in the Middle East cannot help but wonder why the United States should apply a double standard, whereby one category of "mistakes" can be acknowledged and another cannot. On the one hand we have a mistake that has lasted for one quarter of a century [illegible] be admitted because [illegible] damage the prestige of the United States; on the other, a "mistake" openly acknowledged by the United States barely 48 hours after it had been committed.

*Mohammed Heikal, who was editor of the daily Al Ahram, long a confidant of Gamal Abdel Nasser and who now writes a syndicated column for newspapers in the Arab world, is a guest columnist.*

*WASHINGTON*

# Reagan's Vice President?

By James Reston

Most people around here seem to think that the odds are against Mr. Reagan, but all their predictions in this election have gone awry, so they're not so sure.

Even the political pros in Mr. Reagan's own party, who wish him well and hope to see him in the White House next year, would like to know in advance of the Republican nominating convention who is going with him, not only in the Vice Presidency but also in a Reagan Cabinet.

So it would probably be good campaign politics for Reagan to put up a Republican team against Carter. Mr. Reagan is a darling of a conservative minority of a minority party and needs help. And he represents a party that commands the allegiance of most of the legal and economic brains of the nation.

Accordingly, his main hope against Carter is not to go it alone, but to mobilize the considerable resources of the Republican Party and make clear in advance that, if he doesn't have an answer to all the dangerous problems of the eighties at home and abroad, he at least has mobilized the best people he can get to deal with them.

How to choose a Vice President is only the first test of Mr. Reagan's capacity to confront Carter and the Carter record in this election, and the worst of all choices may be his campaign manager's suggestion that the voters and the delegates at the Republican nominating convention should leave it all to Reagan, to announce after he's nominated his choice of a running-mate.

From the beginning of the Republic, many people have poked fun at the Vice Presidency, but in the election of 1980 this is not very funny. If Ronald Reagan is to be nominated, which seems likely, most people around here think he has an obligation, coming into his 70's, to make clear in advance who would stand behind him.

Many proposals have been made about the selection of Vice Presidents in the past, but never with more relevance than in this election. Among them are the following:

- Let the Presidential nominee state in advance names of his recommendations for the Vice Presidency, and allow the nominating convention to choose between them.
- Give the delegates to the conventions more time to select a Vice Presidential nominee after they have chosen their Presidential candidates. Delay the Vice Presidential choice for a day or even for a week or so in order to give some thought to the consequences.
- Let Presidential candidates run alone, submitting their choices for Vice President to Congress for investigation, or leave the nomination of a Vice President to the party's national committee, two or three weeks after the nomination of a President, so as to leave time for investigation of the candidates.

Many other suggestions for reform have been made, all of them based on the sensible notion that the Vice Presidency is no joke, that one out of every five Vice Presidents in the history of the Republic has succeeded to the Presidency, and therefore, that they should not be chosen at the last minute in the stir and emotion of a nominating convention.

...NGTON, March 22 — Ronald ...as defined the qualifications ...seek *in a Vice President: he* ...efer somebody (1) who is ...than himself and (2) who ... views of the world. We also ...om Senator Paul Laxalt, Mr. ... campaign manager, that his ...on't make his Vice Presiden- ...e *known until after his nomi-*

...ld not be too difficult to find ... younger than Mr. Reagan, ...th diligence, somebody who ... views of the world. But the ...at we should have to wait ...Reagan *is nominated to learn* ...choice would be is a bit stiff. ...bound to be some limit, some ...put what the voters of this ...will tolerate.

... has already answered the ... of his Vice Presidential ... He not only picked Fritz ... as his running mate in 1976 ...mised then that Mondale ...ally be a deputy President, ...which is more surprising, he ... that promise, and Mondale ... in on everything at the White ... since — and has sup- ...tion from runaway everything Carter has done, ...rob his politicians more for his loyalty than ...potentially the judgment.

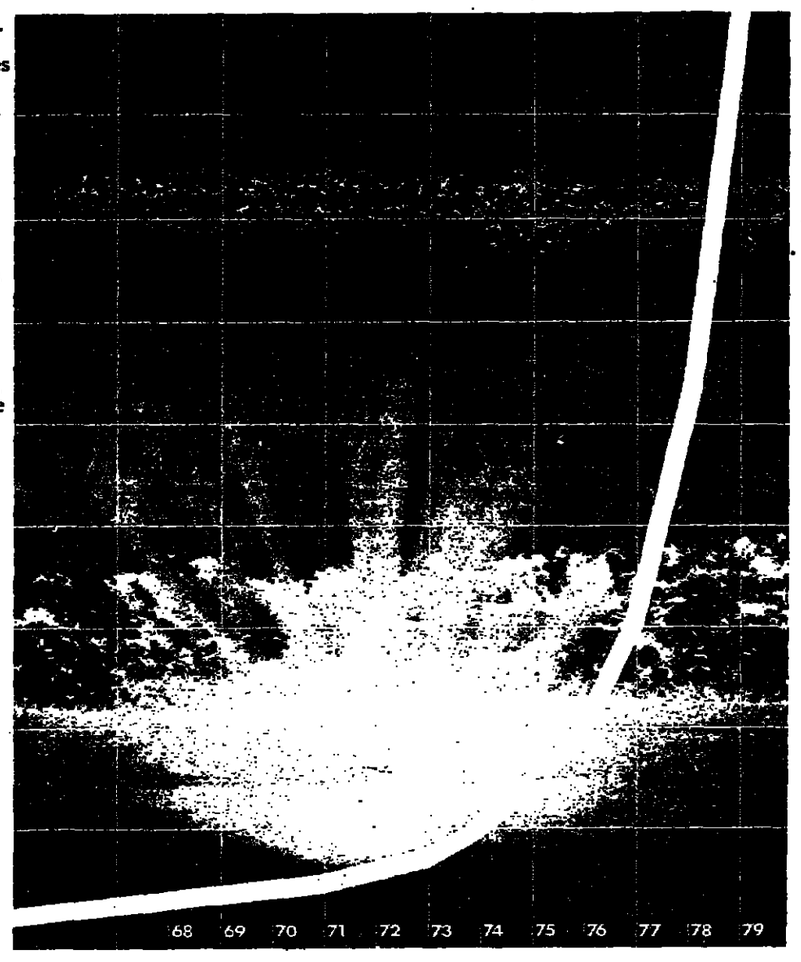
...clear that if we re-elect Car- ...be numerous these days, he ... or drops out, the Democrats ... ago, with Mondale in reserve. Nobody ...underestimate Fritz. He may ...how to make things work ...here, but he knows more about ...gs don't work in this town ...my Carter does.

...political pros in Washington ...ing urgently about Ronald ... choice of a Vice Presiden- ...didate, not because they don't ... seriously as a potential ...t, but because they do. No- ... the pollsters and the disen- ...liberals rule out the possibil- ...eagan victory in November.


Here's a picture that needs no heading. it's a picture of our balance sheet. A balance sheet that's grown 260 times in the last eleven years. Putting Bank Hapoalim among the world's biggest banks.

In recent years, we've widened the scope of all aspects of our financial operations. We've upgraded our existing services, and added a whole series of new ones: credit cards, "Bank-kat 2000" and a network of computer and data processing facilities all aimed at optimizing our customer services.

To better serve our clients, we've established new branches at home and abroad. And on the international front, we greatly expanded and intensified the range of Bank Hapoalim involvement. That's why this picture of our balance sheet needs no heading. It's a clear reflection of how we've grown.




Bank Hapoalim BM

COME. GROW WITH US.

ARIELY


...n's Peril

...I assume that ... ...ocratic voters are not going ... President Carter responsible ... "throwing money ...ation's toughest problems, ... problem which ...y should at least hold him ... lentlessly, these ... its 1976 pledge never to tell us ... reaction to shut its ... cities and concern ... Mr. Carter has been caught ...ageable problems ... prevarication. But in at ...flicted with what ... recent cases, skeptics may ... illness often behind ...whether they have been given ... the whole truth and nothing ... The current wave ...ith."

...ganizations, the ... *U.N. resolution on Israeli set-* ... the wider community. ... This affair gets curiouser ... cohesive black ... ...user. First, in the Security ...ent black politics ... the United States voted for ... creating a vacuum ...tion, which condemned the ... be pierced by a ... ...its in occupied Arab territo- ... as America has ...lays later, President Carter ... modern times. ...d the vote as a mistake. Now ... cause to observe ... of State Vance, under pres- ... 1980's is about ... the Senate Foreign Rela- ... had big Mo or the ...mittee, has refused to disa- ... Massachusetts ...atire resolution.

... and Mr. Carter said that the ... he resolution was a mistake ... the President, owing to a com- ...ns mixup, had not realized it ... references to Jerusalem ... unacceptable to him. With- ... defects, Mr. Vance told the ..., the resolution could have ...orsed by the United States. ... Mr. Carter had done, he in- ...t the vote the Administration ... was casting represented no ... American policy.

...me lays aside the *Jerusalem* ..., as Mr. Carter says he ...ad been done, the vote would ... *for* a resolution similar to ...hich the United States previ- ... abstained. To say that vot- ... on the third round was not a ... policy is to retreat into se- ... rather as President Johnson ... when he insisted that bomb- ... Vietnam was not a change of ...ly a change in the method of ...g the same old policy.

...cretary's position before the ..., moreover, leaves no doubt ... Jerusalem references aside

*IN THE NATION*

# Two For the Skeptics

By Tom Wicker

— the resolution actually reflects Administration policy on Israeli settlements in the captured territories. But it seems fair to wonder whether that was the impression left by Mr. Carter's disavowal of the vote, which came only after widespread accusations that he had changed his policy toward the settlements.

And why, if the Jerusalem references were the only problem, could not Mr. Carter have announced that he disavowed just those references, rather than the entire resolution? It isn't uncommon to make such a reservation in advance of a vote; why couldn't it have been done afterwards, if that really was the only problem?

In all these circumstances, is it any wonder that Mr. Carter is widely suspected of having tried to escape the political fallout from his policy change when he disavowed the vote itself rather than the defects of the resolution?

- *The new, improved, historic anti-inflation package.* Cynicism may perhaps be pardoned here, on at least the following grounds:

It's all very well to talk about a balanced budget for fiscal 1981, but how about fiscal 1980, which is right here and now and running a $40-billion deficit? The Administration had leaked news of a $4-billion cut; the President actually announced $2 billion, without specifying what would be cut. So the pain has been delayed, basically until after the election.

And while the discipline of a balanced budget is no doubt good medicine, the impression that it will have much downward effect on the price level — or any, in the near future — is misleading. Administration officials concede as much; but Mr. Carter told the nation that later this year there would be "a substantial reduction in the inflation rate," which would fall under the double-digit level next year.

In fact, the oil import fee that he announced will give an upward push to prices, as even Mr. Carter admitted. The resulting gasoline tax will add more than half a point to the inflation rate *before* its secondary effect on wage and price escalators.

Nor was it made clear that any of the resulting billions in revenue would be rebated to the paying public. This omission, combined with the President's calculated vagueness about what budget cuts he would recommend, raises the possibility that some or all of those revenues may be devoted to balancing the 1981 budget — again, after the election. The House Budget Committee, in contrast, has specified that such revenues be set aside to permit stimulative tax reduction.

The credit curbs that Mr. Carter asked the Federal Reserve Board to impose, particularly on the use of bank credit cards, will hit a lot of low- and middle-income persons. Since the President once again disdained the use of any form of price restraint other than ineffectual jawboning, these persons will suffer a one-two punch — reduced buying power, and prices continuing to rise.

But no one can doubt Mr. Carter's claim that "drastically" changed circumstances had caused him to cut a budget he had himself submitted only six weeks earlier. In just that period, after all, he had repelled what seemed in January to be the threat from Edward Kennedy and the Democratic left.

# The Economy

## Zig-Zag Economics: The Carter Record

By STEVEN RATTNER

WASHINGTON — When the economic historians come to write the record of the Carter Presidency in the cruel glare of hindsight, the judgment is likely to be exceedingly harsh — if the sentiments today of both liberal and conservative economists are any guide.

More than any other period in memory, the last three years have been marked by economic policy reversals of increasing force. The reversals have by their very appearance indicted many of the Administration's initial policy decisions and they have caused the Carter team severe credibility problems in ensuing policy decisions, as evidenced by the skepticism surrounding the recent anti-inflation package.

To be sure, looking backward is always far easier than having to worry about the future, and liberal economists in particular were largely silent when some of the Carter decisions now most vilified were made. To that extent, the failure of the Carter policy is in large part a failure of liberal economic thought.

But a feeling abounds in the community of economists that the Carter economic policy has reacted to new developments rather than anticipating them and that a sense of coherence or philosophy has been missing.

And the performance of the economy has left professionals and public alike both shaken and scared. Inflation is on the verge of setting records. Unemployment touched bottom at an unusually high 5.7 percent and is now expected to rise. Economic growth is limping along and a recession should arrive momentarily.

"I'm not wild about Carter's economic record particularly because of the delays and because of the zigs and zags," said Walter W. Heller, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President John F. Kennedy. "I've tried to look objectively at the the Kennedy and Johnson periods and I really think we were fairly steadfast."

While Mr. Carter's difficulties with economic policy are among his most dramatic problems, they are representative of troubles the first Carter Administration has had in other policy areas as well. For example, the same confusions and reversals in the case of the recent United Nations vote to condemn Israel have cost the Administration precious political capital.

The feeling is widespread that even in the context of the times, the record of the Carter Administration is disappointing.

Consider a few examples: During his campaign, Mr. Carter endorsed standby wage and price control authority. Between election and inauguration he became an opponent.

On Jan. 27, 1977, a week after inauguration, he declared the economy stagnant, and proposed a $31.2 billion package of stimulative spending increases and tax cuts, including a $50 per person rebate. Less than three months later, he abandoned the cornerstone of the package and, citing inflation as the principal economic menace, proposed the first of four anti-inflation programs.

A year later, he again asked major tax relief — a $24 billion cut — only to have to again delay it and scale it back in response to inflationary pressures.

In 1978 as well, he offered his second and third anti-inflation programs, the latter to include the first numerical guidelines. But after a week of adverse reaction, the collapse of the dollar and plummeting financial markets forced the Administration to turn to the Federal Reserve for a sharp increase in interest rates as a rescue, a fallback used several times since.

In April 1979, Mr. Carter began the decontrol of crude oil prices, having failed two years earlier to win approval of a tax that would have continued those price controls.

On June 4, he named W. Michael Blumenthal, the Treasury Secretary, as his chief economic spokesman and coordinator of economic policy. Just 45 days later, Mr. Blumenthal was ousted.

"Each time a policy was developed, the policy was too weak for the problems that appeared," said Barry P. Bosworth, former director of the Council on Wage and Price Stability and now a Brookings Institution economist. "We had no overall framework of what are the things we stand for and what are our priorities."

For their part, current Administration members defend their record as the best that could be expected in an age of soaring oil prices and interest rates and with an economy whose behavior consistently defies the predictions of both Government and private economists. And they cite achievements — such as seven million new jobs and a marked slowing in the growth of Federal spending.

"We do not have any good evidence as to how our economy behaves in a period of sustained high inflation in peacetime because we've never experienced it and have no data base," argued Treasury Secretary G. William Miller in a speech last week. "We've got to be able to be willing to monitor and adjust as these behavioral patterns begin to surface," he maintained.

A Carter aide said: "If you go back with hindsight, we should have run a much more conservative aggregate demand policy. But the views we set forth at that particular time were held by the bulk of the economic forecasting community."

In general, the economists view the principal Carter mistakes as having underestimated the peril of inflation and overestimated the need to stimulate more economic growth. In addition, like most economists, the Carter officials failed to recognize that unemployment could probably not be pushed much below 6 percent — where it is now — without a penalty on the inflation front. And both inside and outside experts missed at the outset the decline in productivity, which also pushes prices up.

"There was a tremendous amount of complacency about inflation right until October 1978," said Arthur M. Okun, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Lyndon B. Johnson. "You just couldn't find evidence that the Administration saw inflation as a serious problem."

For the first part of his Administration, Mr. Carter resisted not only mandatory controls but voluntary guidelines as well, preferring to rely first on an altogether vague and toothless program to cut inflation 2 to 4 percent by the end of 1979. Then, he tried

### Economic Analysis

investing Robert Strauss as his chief inflation fighter, an effort that produced substantial rhetoric but no tangible accomplishments.

Finally came his numerical guidelines which have, by all accounts, had surprising success in holding down wages, although the Administration has been heavily criticized for its decision to relax the standard.

The Fed, then run by Mr. Miller, also comes in for its share of criticism, mostly for having done too little, too late. "The Fed did not perceive the credit-creation momentum in the system," said Henry Kaufman, chief economist at Salomon Brothers.

The voluntary guidelines illustrate another difficulty that has plagued Mr. Carter's economic and noneconomic policy: An inordinate difficulty in persuading Congress to go along with his proposals. Mr. Carter's failures with such programs as energy are legendary; he has had a similar lack of success with smaller matters, such as his anti-inflation real-wage tax insurance plan that was widely hailed by economists but killed almost instantly on Capitol Hill. "Poor political skill," was the judgment from Gardner Ackley, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Johnson.

For nearly all economists, both the 1977 stimulus package and the 1978 tax reduction (which had a brief early life as tax reform) were, in retrospect, ill-advised additions to both inflationary pressures and inflationary expectations. Now both are being reversed in the prodigious effort to raise revenue and cut spending for the 1981 budget.

Unlike liberals, conservatives took a dimmer view of those ideas from the start. President Gerald R. Ford's 1978 budget, his last, offered no stimulus. Indeed, the avowed policies of the Ford Administration argue strongly, in retrospect, that the inflation rate today would be lower if Mr. Ford had been re-elected, although unemployment would probably be higher.

"We never advocated a tax cut or stimulus," said Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under Mr. Ford. "Our general policy was that until we beat inflation into the ground, we weren't doing anything else."

Among the most criticized aspects of the Carter operation is its process for policy formulation, which the economist-critics believe plays on Mr. Carter's natural urges to hug the middle of the road. Those natural urges include a compulsion to be all things to all people and to try to simultaneously propose a raft of new social programs, reduce the budget, lower unemployment and cut inflation — goals that are often incompatible. The result, they believe, is policy without much conviction and policy that can easily be swayed by one faction or another.

"The Carter Administration has created its own internal problems because of the policy procedures that it uses," said Mr. Greenspan. "The President does not use the policy-making apparatus in an effective way and he tries to make all the decisions himself."

Mr. Greenspan and others believe the lack of coherent policy has manifested itself visibly in regulatory decisions, from agriculture to energy. One vivid example was the minimum wage, where Mr. Carter first proposed a modest increase, which soon became a large jump now regretted by most economists.

"After starting out right, he caved in on those decisions one after another," said Mr. Okun.

Others acknowledge the Carter Administration contention that economic changes occur much faster now, but they respond that the Administration should have developed a variety of alternatives to meet these rapid changes.

## Canada's Unfettered Conglomerates

By ANDREW H. MALCOLM

*"Power tends to connect; absolute power connects absolutely."* — Peter C. Newman, "The Canadian Establishment."

TORONTO — Consumers Gas buys Home Oil and then swallows Hiram Walker. Hollinger Argus, which already controls Massey Ferguson, Dominion Stores, Standard Broadcasting and Labrador Mining, bids for Norcen with the millions received for its Noranda holdings from Brascan, which was seized by Edper Equities who redirected its bid for F.W. Woolworth. Hudson's Bay buys Zellers before moving on Simpson's and being consumed itself in a $641 million struggle between the Weston family and the Thomson family. Thomson wins and moves on to take over FP Publications, which controls eight of Canada's largest daily newspapers.

No one — not even Canada's Federal Government — can keep track of all the moves, let alone the score, in a continent-wide game of adult Monopoly that is sweeping across the United States' northern neighbor and chief trading partner. What is clear, however, is that Canada's corporate concentration grows greater by the day. Economic power is flowing to fewer and fewer individuals. And because of the weakness of Canada's antimonopoly laws and the lack of strong public sentiment against bigness in business, the Anti-Combines Branch of the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs is virtually powerless to do anything.

There is, in the eyes of government officials, academics, financial analysts and business executives, no reason for any halt in this steady trend. Indeed, a further acceleration of mergers and takeovers is expected starting this summer as slackening demand and record-high interest rates begin taking their economic toll of medium and smaller companies.

Yet, so far, very few Canadians are asking any vital questions. For instance, what forces — historic, political and economic — are seizing the nation and turning its resources, manufacturing and industrial might over to a dwindling number of corporate powers? Why now? How large is the merger movement? Is it good for Canada and Canadians? How does this powerful trend spill over into the United States?

Robert Bertrand, director of the Federal Anti-Combines Branch, warns: "What we will have, if this march of increased concentration continues, is a national oligarchy in which a few dozen people will interact to bargain about the economic future of millions." Some would argue that Canada has already reached that stage in certain sectors such as steel, beer, cement, petroleum, cigarettes, newspapers and aluminum.

They would say that in such sectors private oligopolies have formed, often after costly and economically detrimental bidding wars, to reduce consumer choice, choke competition, threaten the rights of minority shareholders, place too much power in the hands of a few and set the scene for market manipulations, which the Government is virtually helpless to combat. Additionally, it is estimated that a million of Canada's 23.7 million citizens live in economically precarious, one-industry company towns.

"The essence of a free society is choice," adds Mr. Bertrand. "Fewer, larger economic units almost inevitably mean a narrower range of choices available."

When the proponents of larger-scale operations, perhaps 1,000 captains of elite business clans who have traditionally run Canada's corporate world, speak out on the matter (it is not yet an issue), they talk of the need for world-scale companies to compete in the shadow of the United States in an increasingly competitive international marketplace — especially important for a country that exports 25 percent of its gross national product compared with 10.9 percent for the United States. They also talk of the increased efficiencies of scale that develop and of the greater access to financial resources that a larger company has.

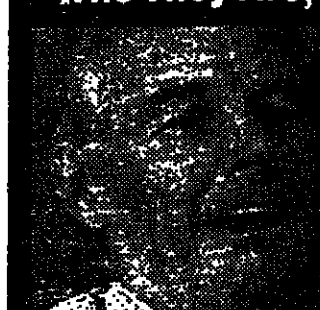
And as for any fear of bigness, Kenneth R. Thomson, who owns 37 percent of Canada's daily newspapers, said, "There is a limit to how many papers one man, or company, should own; a point where going past it becomes ludicrous. But we haven't reached it. And I'm sure that we will know ourselves if and when we do."

These business barons do not talk of the excitement and satisfaction that accompany successful financial maneuverings and corporate clashes for power between the occupants of office suites just blocks apart here in Canada's business capital. But the cunning and enthusiasm for gamesmanship that pervade private conversations with men like Conrad Black, head of the Hollinger Argus empire, are difficult to disguise.

What cannot be disguised is Canada's merger movement. According to the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, mergers in Canada climbed from 129 in 1964 to 296 in 1974. The dramatic upward spiral began in 1976 with 313, jumped to 398 in 1977, 449 in 1978 and at least 511 last year (versus 2,000 in the much larger United States economy). While smaller- and medium-sized entities continue to be swallowed, one recent characteristic has seen large companies merging with other large companies often after a bitter bidding struggle with an equally large suitor. One result, according to recent figures on economic activities, is that the 100 largest companies now account for more than 45 percent of the value added to goods in Canada versus 33 percent by the United States' 100 largest concerns.

Some market analysts profess to see a momentary pause in recent days while would-be suitors adjust to record-high interest rates and, in certain sectors like energy, current inflated costs.

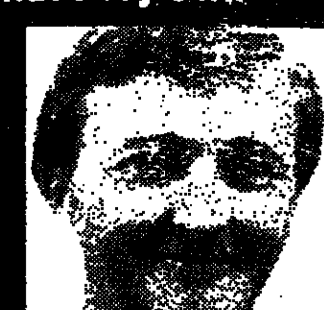
### Who They Are, What They Own



John P. Gallagher

**Dome Petroleum**

1979 profit $182 million
Revenue $945 million
19 companies, including:
TransCanada Pipelines
Canmar (drilling)
Provo Gas
Dome Beaufort Explorations
Seibens Oil and Gas
Dome Mines (39 percent)



W. Galen Weston

**George Weston Ltd.**

1979 est. profit $76.5 million
Revenue $5.9 billion
160 companies, including:
Lablow supermarkets
National Tea Company
B.C. Packers
Weston Bakeries
Associated British Foods
Eddy Paper Company

Peter and Edward Bronfman

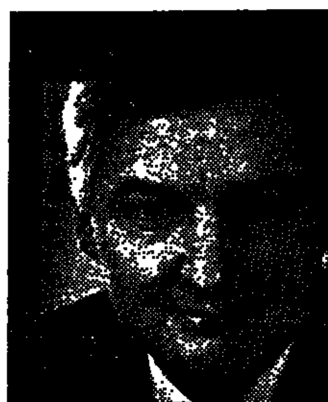
**Edper Investments Ltd.**

Privately held
110 companies, including:
Brascan (diversified)
Trizec (real estate)
Jonlab Investments
Montreal Forum (arena)
John Labatt brewery
Western Mines

William Wilder

**Consumers Gas Compan[y]**

Fiscal 1979 profit $53 mill[ion]
Revenue $820.3 million
20 companies, including:
Home Oil
Hiram Walker (pending)
Scurry-Rainbow Oil
Plains Petroleum
Foothills Oil and Gas
Bridger Petroleum



Paul Desmarais

**Power Corporation**

1979 profit $86.4 million
Revenue $326.3 million
195 companies, including:
Canada Steamship Lines
Great West Life Assurance
Montreal Trust
Jesca (Quebec newspapers)
Voyageur (bus line)
Consolidated-Bathurst

Ian Sinclair

**Canadian Pacific**

1979 profit $508.1 million
Revenue unreported
130 companies, including:
MacMillan-Bloedel
C.P. Air
C.P. Rail
C.P. Investments
Dominion Bridge
Algoma Steel

Montegu and Conrad Black

**Hollinger Argus**

1979 profit $21.8 million
Revenue $65 million
50 companies, including:
Dominion Stores
Massey Ferguson
Standard Broadcasting
Labrador Mining
Sterling Newspapers
Hollinger Mines

Kenneth R. Thomson

**Thomson Organization**

Privately held
100 companies, including
FP Publications and
Thomson Newspapers
(among them 56 in Cana[da],
72 in U.S., 47 in Britain)
Hudson's Bay stores
Simpson's stores
Zeller's stores

Source: Statistic[s]

"Last year's $50 million investment is today's $200 million bundle," said one expert, "and that brings out the sharper pencils. A few stocks are trading at 1.1, 1.2 times book value. That means you've got to bid 1.4 for starters and then pay 16, 17, 18 percent interest. You better be expecting some pretty fancy cash flows."

But that hasn't stopped a rash of highly publicized takeovers. For example, Dome Petroleum of Calgary, led by John P. Gallagher, chairman, 30 years ago was little more than a tiny oil investment company for Harvard and Princeton endowment funds. It has just completed a $2 billion acquisition drive to make it suddenly the largest Canadian-owned oil concern. The latest announced move was the $700 million purchase of the Canadian onshore oil and gas properties of Kaiser Resources Ltd., which acquired them 15 months ago from Ashland Oil for $485 million.

At no time during these maneuverings is much attention paid to the Federal Government. "We have a great concern over the size of these mergers," said Paul Mitchell of the Combines Branch, but the law is toothless. Mergers are impossible to stop. We must prove an 'undue' loss of competition to the public's detriment before it happens." As one result, Canada has had one monopoly conviction since World War II, and that defendant pleaded guilty.

Several half-hearted efforts at change failed. And Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau seems unlikely to display a sudden enthusiasm; in fact, to head the Royal Commission on Corporate Concentration, Mr. Trudeau picked Mr. Bryce, who had written the legislation allowing companies tax deductions for interest on loans to finance takeovers.

"Canadians are much more hierarchical and trusting of authority than Americans," said William T. Stanbury of Canada's Economic Council. "If businessmen say something is good, people believe it is so."

Besides a standard desire for growth and diversification, the reasons for Canada's increasing concentration are many. They include inflation's im[pact,] which has made it cheaper to bu[y un]dervalued stocks of existing comp[anies] than to build new ones, the reaso[n be]hind Abitibi's purchase of Price B[rothers] to form the world's largest news[print] maker. There has also been a run [of ro]bust corporate profits, which mu[st be] spent somehow before they make [the] holder an attractive takeover targe[t.]

Donald Thompson, a business pr[ofes]sor at York University here, point[s to] the handsome cash flow of some [com]panies in mature industries, like [Lafarge] star in cement, Imasco in tobacco [and] Molson's in beer. Increased divi[dend] payouts are taxed more heavily [than] capital gains on stock values increa[sed] through takeovers. So diversifica[tion] from an older, slow-growth field i[s al]most forced. In addition, an acquisi[tion] can open new avenues of achievem[ent] to hold ambitious executives.

"There are huge forces pushing [con]solidation," said Mr. Stanbury, "[and] virtually none in its way. Increa[sed] concentration will continue. No q[ues]tion."

## THE MARKE[T]

By VARTANIG G. VARTAN

With investors responding to the Carter Administration's new anti-inflation program and the prime lending rate escalating to a record 19 percent last week, the Dow Jones industrial average tumbled to its lowest level since last year.

The Dow dropped 26.65 points to 785.15. Among individual issues, International Business Machines traded at a four-year low. Meanwhile, selling appeared in such recent favorites as energy, precious-metal and defense stocks.

There were fears of a credit crunch, an oncoming recession and continued high inflation rates. Even gold bugs shared in the worries as bullion prices sank far below their record levels of late January.

It was a bumpy road for the bond market, as well, with prices declining in the final two sessions to more than offset earlier gains.

"Buy stocks around the 800 level on the Dow and sell at 900." This sounds like an exceedingly pat investment formula, but it's one message the stock market has been sending out since April 1978.

Given a choice, most stockbrokers tend to adopt an optimistic view regarding the direction of the market. But Fred D. Kalkstein, a technical analyst for the firm of Elkins, Stroud, Suplee & Company, has a much darker outlook.

"I think the Dow industrials could fall to somewhere between 600 and 650 by the third quarter of this year before they hit bottom," he said. One reason for his gloomy forecast relates to the ratio of the Commerce Department's series of coincident indicators and lagging indicators — a ratio that, according to Mr. Kalkstein, has a good record for calling the stock market's primary trend.

"Coincident indicators tend to mirror the economy's current pace," he explained. "Examples include employment, final sales and industrial production. The laggers tend to keep rising after business activity peaks and reach their peak some time after the pace of business turns down." He cited the prime lending rate, unit labor costs and inventory levels as examples of lagging indicators.

Lately, this ratio of coincident and lagging indicators, moving down sharply on the charts, has traced out a ma[jor] divergence from the trend of stock prices, just as it did i[n] 1973, according to Mr. Kalkstein. "The stock market," [he] summed up, "has usually moved down to join the r[atio] rather than the other way around."

On the commission front, there were signs that m[ajor] brokerage houses may initiate their fourth round o[f in]creases to retail customers since competitive rates [were] initiated in the spring of 1975.

At the same time, some discount brokers are enjoyi[ng an] influx of business, inasmuch as their rates run consider[ably] below typical transaction costs at brokerage firms.

Meanwhile, the Value Line Investment Survey sai[d it is] not likely that 1980 will prove to be a "bonanza" year fo[r the] soft drink industry.

"The number of young Americans in the 15-to-24-y[ear-]old age group will actually decline from some 41.5 milli[on in] 1978 to 38.5 million in 1985," the investment advisory se[rvice] noted. "This 'Pepsi Generation' is the soft drink indus[try's] best customer."

Only Dr. Pepper is expected by Value Line to outperf[orm] the general stock market over the next 12 months. It r[ates] near-term market prospects for the Coca-Cola Company[, the] industry leader, and PepsiCo as "average."

For the individual investor, suddenly market ti[ming] seems an overriding consideration. On this score, Standa[rd &] Poor's Outlook suggested that "dollar cost averaging [does] away with the problem of attempting to time stock ma[rket] fluctuations and, in fact, puts the swings to work for you."

Dollar cost averaging involves a systematic buying [pro]gram that calls for the investment of identical d[ollar] amounts at fixed intervals in one or more stocks that ap[pear] to offer favorable growth prospects over the long term.

The Outlook's list of candidates for such a progra[m in]cludes Atlantic Richfield (an energy company with a[n im]portant stake in the Alaskan North Slope); Levi Strau[ss (a] leader in the apparel industry); Lifemark Corporati[on (a] hospital management company) and Raytheon (a le[ading] supplier of missile systems and military electronic [prod]ucts).

**MOST ACTIVE STOCKS**
**WEEK ENDED MARCH 21, 1980**
**(Consolidated)**

| Company | Sales | Last | Net Chng |
|---|---|---|---|
| IBM s | 3,236,100 | 56¾ | — 3⅛ |
| Texaco | 2,990,700 | 34⅝ | — 1⅛ |
| Mobil s | 2,762,400 | 70⅝ | — 4⅛ |
| GulfOil | 2,341,300 | 40⅞ | — 2¼ |
| Exxon | 1,930,900 | 58½ | — 1½ |
| Benguet B | 1,522,000 | 9⅝ | + 1⅛ |
| Sears Roeb | 1,414,600 | 15 | — ⅞ |
| WestghEl | 1,297,300 | 20½ | — ⅞ |
| OccidentPet | 1,225,100 | 24⅛ | — 1¾ |
| AmerT&T | 1,202,300 | 47⅞ | ... |
| AsarcoInc | 1,201,000 | 36¾ | — ⅝ |
| Boeing | 1,200,500 | 36¼ | — 1⅞ |
| EastKodak | 1,190,000 | 45¼ | + ⅜ |
| Citicorp | 1,108,100 | 17⅛ | — 1⅛ |
| CharterCo | 1,083,800 | 23¾ | — 7¼ |

**The New York Stock Exchange**

**MARKET BREADTH**

| | This Week | Prev. Week |
|---|---|---|
| Advances | 417 | 632 |
| Declines | 1,487 | 1,276 |
| Total Issues | 2,087 | 2,082 |
| New Highs | 12 | 7 |
| New Lows | 623 | 584 |

**STOCK VOLUME**
**(4 P.M. New York Close)**

| | 1980 | 1979 | 1978 |
|---|---|---|---|
| Monday | 37,616,890 | 34,624,130 | 28,361,900 |
| Tuesday | 47,347,740 | 27,176,210 | 24,413,640 |
| Wednesday | 36,928,480 | 31,117,690 | 21,949,490 |
| Thursday | 32,588,150 | 34,364,650 | 21,290,640 |
| Friday | 32,221,810 | 33,576,230 | CLOSED |
| Total week | 185,703,070 | 160,858,910 | 96,015,670 |
| Year to date | 2,724,800,890 | 1,586,444,777 | 1,187,872,650 |

**WEEK'S MARKET AVERAG[ES]**

New York Stock Exchange

| | High | Date | Low | Date | La[st] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Indust. | 68.70 | 19 | 66.72 | 18 | 66.[illegible] |
| Transp. | 51.92 | 17 | 49.89 | 18 | 50.[illegible] |
| Utils. | 33.60 | 19 | 33.00 | 18 | 33.[illegible] |
| Finance | 54.81 | 17 | 53.44 | 18 | 53.[illegible] |
| Composite | 59.59 | 19 | 57.79 | 18 | 58.[illegible] |

Standard & Poor's

| | High | Date | Low | Date | La[st] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 400 Indust. | 119.91 | 19 | 114.55 | 18 | 115.[illegible] |
| 20 Transpt. | 15.71 | 19 | 14.98 | 18 | 15.[illegible] |
| 40 Utils. | 46.09 | 19 | 44.43 | 18 | 45.[illegible] |
| 40 Financial | 10.83 | 17 | 10.42 | 18 | 10.[illegible] |
| 500 Stocks | 105.72 | 19 | 101.14 | 18 | 102.[illegible] |

Dow Jones

| | High | Date | Low | Date | La[st] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30 Indust. | 812.12 | 19 | 779.52 | 21 | 785.[illegible] |
| 20 Transp. | 260.57 | 19 | 249.12 | 21 | 250.[illegible] |
| 15 Utils. | 103.25 | 17 | 100.10 | 17 | 100.[illegible] |
| 65 Comb. | 294.41 | 17 | 282.85 | 21 | 284.[illegible] |

هكذا من الأصل

# 'Unsung hero of World War II'

By HYAM CORNEY/Post London Correspondent

... — BBC television last ... presented a remarkable ... documentary on Raoul ...rg, the Swedish diplomat ...d up to 100,000 Jews from ...is in Budapest, and ... BBC radio is broad... ...minute programme en... ...Wallenberg Mystery." ...rrent edition of "The ..." the weekly magazine ... by the BBC, carries a full... ...ie on Wallenberg called ...der Pimpernel," written ... Patient, producer of the ... programme.

...his supports the words of ...rman, who said at the end ...levision programme that ...f Wallenberg "is begin... ...latter to a lot of people." ...rogramme was critical of ...Israelis and the Swedes for ... close enough since 1945 ...find out what happened to ... It specifically accused ...es of having failed to find ...unity of arranging an ex... ...with the Soviets.

...t points out in "The ... that "large numbers of ... and Austrians were ...in 1955 in response to Ger... ...Chancellor Konrad ...'s trade agreements with ...ians. Although numerous reports of Wallenberg's existence in the Russian prison system emerged, the Swedes continued to behave as though they had learned nothing from Adenauer's tough bargaining."

Per Anger, a colleague of Wallenberg in Budapest and recently Swedish Ambassador to Canada, says that the Swedes had Soviet spies after the war whom they could have held in prison until Wallenberg was released. But "this way of acting," he says bitterly, "was not in their vocabulary."

What the television programme brought home above all was the remarkable character of Wallenberg and his complete indifference to the personal danger to which his actions on behalf of Jews exposed him.

The programme recalled, for instance, how Adolf Eichmann had warned him to stop his activities on behalf of the Jews or else. Two days later Wallenberg's car was smashed by a tank. Fortunately Wallenberg was not in it at the time.

Humanity, compassion and bravery were words that dotted the programme. The first half was taken up with interviews with people from many parts of the world who owe their lives to Wallenberg.

Apart from Israel Broadcasting authority director-general Yosef Lapid, there were other Israelis, as well as people now living in America and Canada.

Bierman in fact described Wallenberg as "the unsung hero of the Second World War." The programme quoted Wallenberg as telling a group of Jews that unfortunately he could not save all of them and he added: "I must save the young ones, because I want to save a nation." But has enough been done to find out the facts about what happened after Wallenberg was led out of Budapest by the Russians, not knowing whether he was a prisoner or a guest?

When asked this question, Premier Menahem Begin replied that "you can't force the Russians." The Swedish Foreign Ministry file on him is reputed to be the biggest of all, though in the words of Bierman, "his case has blown hot and not so hot depending how much successive Swedish governments were prepared to sour their relations with their powerful Soviet neighbour."

Gideon Hausner MK, prosecutor at the Eichmann trial, said in the programme: "ultimately, Wallenberg fell victim to the incredulity of the Soviets who took Budapest and arrested him because they just couldn't believe that a Swedish diplomat would dedicate himself for months to this job. To them, it must have looked like a very silly and unconvincing cover for other activities."

# Master of the old school

MUSIC REVIEWS

...USALEM SYMPHONY ...A, Igor Markevitch conduc... ...el Ha'oomah, Jerusalem, ...Tchaikovsky: Symphony ...74; Brahms: Haydn-... ...kas: "The Sorcerer's Ap...

...RKEVITCH is a master ... Old School. Solid ...ship and strict adherence ...n were the main articles ...ith individualistic inter... ...permitted to only a ...ination.

...ich's reading of the ...ne" kept within these ...pt for occasional *ritar...* ...ringing the wild *Allegro* ... (the third movement) ... and into a German ...ack. What was puzzling ...absence of dynamic ...thin the orchestra. The ...even when only allotted ... parts or harmonic fill... ...s always too loud, the ... section was much too ...often, in important spots, ...the strings could be seen ...dle of the first movement, ...ample) bowing with full ...they were completely ... sustained harmonies in ...ections.

...ral, however, the *spirit* ...eyed and the orchestra ... with diligence and devo... ...tonal picture became ... the more transparent ...to the excellent playing of ...ians.

...Symphonic Scherzo — an ...onal hit since Walt ... Fantasia" — is a delight... ...of inventive programme ...en such a committed and ...ondition as this, it could ... make a tremendous im... ...he Jerusalem Symphony ... had one of its best ... and conductor Igor ...proved to be in master... ...and all the way.

*YOHANAN BOEHM*

ARTISTS' WEEK: THE PHILHARMONIC

A, Doron Salomon conduc... ...echarla Flavin, piano (Tel Aviv, Mann Auditorium, March 17). Weber: Overture to "der Freischutz"; Rachmaninoff: Concerto No. 2 in C minor for piano and orchestra; Debussy: Prelude l'Apres midi d'un Faune; Stravinsky: "The Firebird".

PIANIST Zecharia Flavin is an immigrant from the Soviet Union, and the Rachmaninoff concerto seemed a natural choice for his debut.

Flavin's is a finely balanced lyrical talent, and his playing is marked by delicate feeling, touch and expression. His phrases were sung in beautiful cantilenas, carrying the correct emotional message, while avoiding the trap of sentimentality. What I really admired was the delicate balance between his somewhat introverted personality and the way he expressed Rachmaninoff's language.

What Flavin still lacks is dominating drive, and a more powerful touch. In certain passages he had difficulty asserting himself against the orchestra.

After starting off with a rather characterless rendition of the Weber overture, conductor Doron Salomon won the day with the Stravinsky, skilfully dealing with details, sonorities and climaxes.

Salomon was in full command of the big orchestra; one cannot escape the feeling that he would have been able to enhance performances even more with more rehearsal time. Time will tell whether the young conductor will succeed in giving future performances a more personal profile.

The concert was part of the America-Israel Cultural Foundation's Young Artists Week.

*BENJAMIN BAR-AM*

ENGLISH CHAMBER ORCHESTRA. PROGRAMME C. Norman Del Mar conducting, with Jose-Luis Garcia violinist. (Haifa, March 16.) Stravinsky: "Dumbarton Oaks" Concerto for small orchestra; Mozart: Violin Concerto No. 5 in A Major, K. 219; Grosse: Symphonies, Op. 11; Mozart: Symphony in G Minor No. 40, K. 550. Presented by the British Council.

THE CONCERT was one of the season's great events, a wonderful combination of a thoroughly accomplished chamber ensemble, with splendid musicians and a distinguished conductor. Together they achieved a rarely encountered perfection in presenting both old and new, conventional and modern works.

Gordon Crosse (born 1937) uses symphonic procedures in his unconventional work. His musical language includes various sound effects, his texture short fragments juxtaposed in various ways. The performance gave a clear impression of the composer's intentions.

Norman Del Mar and the ECO marshalled skill and perceptiveness in their powerful but also witty performance of Stravinsky's neo-classical concerto, that immediatly captivated the audience.

The performance included some good solos, especially the flute part in the Allegretto.

José-Luis Garcia played his solo with a beautiful tone, singing phrasing, sureness of technique and deep emotional involvement. There was good support and dialogue between soloist and the fine accompaniment of the orchestra.

The truly rewarding performance of the Mozart symphony grasped the work's greatness, displayed its charm, and placidity as well as its lyricism and poignancy.

*ESTHER REUTER*

CHURCH CONCERT. Elisabeth Roloff, organ; Cilla Grossmeyer, soprano; Wendy Eisler-Kashi, flute; Carmela Saghi, violin (Church of the Redeemer, Old City of Jerusalem, March 20). Bach: Prelude & Fugue in b minor; "Jesus, unser Trost und Leben"; Biber: Sonata No. 10, for violin & organ; Handel: "Saesse Stille, sanfte Quelle"; Sonata in e minor, for flute & organ; Jehan Alain (1911-1940): Fantaisie II, Litanies, for organ. Mozart: Church Sonatas, K.245 & 244, for flute, violin & organ; "Laudate dominum," K.339; Bach: Passacaglia in c minor; "Geiobet sei der Herr" (from Cantata No. 129).

IT HAS become traditional at these concerts to present harmonious, relaxing music and, quite often, unknown or very rarely performed works in unusual combinations. The 17th-century Biber Sonata was a fine example of the composer's biblical "programmatic" sonatas, well played by violinist Carmela Saghi.

Wendy Eisler-Kashi's flute mixed well with the organ sound in the Handel sonata and the Mozart Church Sonatas.

The arias from various cantatas were, perhaps, selected more for the sake of the available instruments than for purely artistic reasons — it was all pleasant music but nothing really overwhelming, despite Cilla Grossmeyer's intense singing.

The main burden of the evening was, of course, carried by the organ. Elisabeth Roloff contributed three solo works to the programme: Jehan Alain's music introduced at least some unusual writing for the organ, with interesting excursions into Near Eastern orientalisms, and the two Bach works were impressively performed.

This applied particularly to the great Passacaglia in c minor, which should have closed the evening. After listening to this monumental work, everything else had to be an anti-climax.

*YOHANAN BOEHM*

# ARMY RADIO'S RICH STEW

LISTENING IN/...Ze'ev Schul

...ADIO'S high noon ...e is a winner. That is, if ...wake until five past two ... this choice bit of siesta

...ursday's stew included ... but the kitchen sink. ...ed from actress Hanna ... Rishon Lezion's pave... ...lament, to reporter Tom ...tralled Minister Moshe ...Jerusalem at a forbidden ...egev, who did not report ...peed, said he saw the ...eafing casually through ...ing newspaper as his ...barrelled uphill. ...y the minister was not ...avar" either.

... Tom Segev, the latest ... radio people and other ...is to call themselves by ...ian (and I mean Chris... ...Call me Wolfgang.

... Rishon parliament, I do ... what the local street ... have done to deserve ...le fame so long after ... and Dzigan and ...her made Tel Aviv's ... Boulevard famous. For ... historical accuracy I ... to suggest that such ...s have their origins in ... Galilee. According to my ...ing research (and ...ffection for my former ...gdal, birthplace of Mary ..., is believed to have been the first parliamentary arena.

It is said that no less imposing a backside than that of Yosef Trumpeldor reposed on one of the abandoned Turkish Army ammunition carts (left behind by starving Ottoman soldiers who preferred horse meat to horse power). The carts, incidentally, were manufactured by Krupp of Essen.

The rivet-studded steel plates were very uncomfortable and debators had to get up at frequent intervals to "take the floor." Hence the name "parliament".

And if you want to know who first committed acts of vandalism against public benches, it was those first Members of Parliament. Local villagers would rather have been caught dead than without their *kardom*, a steel axe with one blunt edge for nailing orange crates shut. The practice was to hammer on the ammunition carts to make a point.

The Rishon Lezion team we heard on Thursday was less entertaining.

But then there was Hanna Marron who delivered a cradle-to-grave exposé of teeth and toothache. It left nothing to be said about the subject. But her hilarious rendition would have been even better had it not been delivered so haltingly as to suggest that she needed new glasses.

In any case this Alex Anski show (four times a week) deserves peak listening time.

THERE WAS more about farming on the Second Programme's "Direct Line" programme last Monday. Avraham Ben-Meir, director-general of the Ministry of Agriculture, answered questions as best as he could. The beef was about beef — imported at dumping prices, and water — about to cost three or more times more.

*Ben-Meir:* If we subsidize water, why not transport?

Which, to my mind, was a downright silly answer.

*Ben-Meir's solution was to break* world records for agricultural production. Wishful thinking? And if that's the only solution he has to offer, *farmers in less fertile areas* may just as well throw down their hoes.

*ANOTHER ANNOYING item was* the "Press Conference" (Monday, Second Programme). Haim Bar-Lev, secretary-general of the Labour Party, was interviewed by two political reporters. He said the party, if it came to power, would start off its foreign relations improvement campaign by pledging "No More Settlement" in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, valid for the first phase of autonomy. In addition, in areas not vital to Israel's security, autonomy would be complete.

"Extremism only begets more extremism," said Mr. Bar-Lev, who would have us believe that this scheme would be acceptable to the Arabs.

And now for the scoop of the week: If the Labour-Mapam Alignment returned to power it would turn the clock back on liberalization of foreign currency regulations. Bar-Lev did not say how far. Then, appearing to have second thoughts, he admitted that he had been drawn into saying more than he had intended. Which is a sure-fire method of holding listeners' attention.

# Guide to small spaces

GARDENER'S CORNER
Walter Frankl

**Bags, baskets and buckets can be transformed into mini-gardens.**

NOW IS the time to plant vegetables. If you have a garden with plenty of space you can also now grow ornamental and decorative favourites. But if space is limited, it is best to cut out corn, potatoes, squash and melons, concentrating instead on tomatoes, peppers, lettuce, radishes, onions and parsley.

Squash and melons send their sprouting vines in all directions and, therefore, need large garden beds. Harvesting a potato crop, even for a small family, requires a large plot; corn, too, needs space. For better cross-pollination, you should plant at least two rows side by side with 70 cm. to 80 cm. between them for cultivation and earthing up against strong winds.

Even the smallest sunny spot in your garden will produce some food and, if intensively cultivated, a surprising amount can be grown in an area of six to eight square metres.

A window box, for example, could contain a few flowers in front for show, with beans, onions, parsley, dill, radishes or garden cress planted at the back for food.

A large amount of vegetables can be grown in small spaces with a little extra plant-food and a good supply of ingenuity.

Cucumbers can be trained along railings, trellises and fences (excellent for roof gardens). One cucumber vine will do very well in an ordinary plastic bucket if it is fed once a fortnight with a liquid plant food, or if a slow-release plant food is added at the time of sowing.

The liquid is made from half a kilo of chicken or cow manure, diluted in about five litres of water. The best slow-release plant food for cucumbers is superphosphate. Mix two to three spoonfuls into the planting soil.

MINI-GARDENS: Container-grown vegetables are just as tasty as those grown in a garden. You can use large tins, half barrels, used car tires, square boxes, discarded buckets, rubber baskets.

Vegetables on roofs and balconies grow faster if they are in contact with warmth reflected from concrete of stony ground and walls. Essential drainage holes as well as regular waterings must not be forgotten.

With growing space restricted, container-grown tomatoes, peppers or climbing cucumbers will need more feeding and more watering than vegetables grown in open ground.

True garden enthusiasts make successive sowings (in March and early April) of crops like radishes, green onions and garden cress (about 10 days apart), so that when one containerful has been consumed, another is ready to be enjoyed.

RAISED BEDS FOR FOOD: If your balcony, roof, patio or backyard is covered with tiles, stones, asphalt or concrete, this should not be an obstacle to converting them into garden plots: simply erect "raised beds," framed by low (half-metre-high) dry walls from natural stone.

You can also make your own soil mix to fill the beds. Raised beds can be of any size, but they should be accessible from all sides.

CHEMICAL FERTILIZERS: Specific feeding is done by artificial or chemical fertilizers, which are all produced locally and can be bought at florists, seed shops and nurseries. Common ones include ammonium sulphate, superphosphate and sulphate of potash. A well-mixed general fertilizer, like 20-20-20, contains the essential ingredients, plus essential trace elements.

Some of the chemical fertilizers should be mixed into the soil before sowing or planting, but all your vegetables will do better if they are given slight additional feedings during the summer.

AFTER ALL THAT, how do you raise tomatoes in containers?

Raising seedlings in your own nursery is an exciting job, but it takes six to eight weeks until the seedlings are large enough for transplanting into the open ground or containers. Use a box or a frame, which should be covered at night and in bad weather by a sheet of glass or plastic.

Fill it with the following mixture: one part red soil, one part sand or vermiculite, and two parts compost. Rake the surface level and make rills 1 to 2 cm. deep.

Try not to place the seeds too closely together. Cover with pure sand, and water with a watering can. You can shorten the growing period when you transplant small seedlings (three to four weeks after germination) into plastic pots (15 cm. diameter) and replant them two to three weeks later with their whole rootball in their permanent place of growing.

The shortest way, however, is to buy ready-to-plant seedlings from your nurseryman. I always bought them in Tel Aviv, but for the first time this year, Jerusalem nurseries, too, will soon be offering tomato, green and red peppers, eggplant and parsley seedlings, in addition to their flower and house-plant selections.

To prepare the container, first place a three-cm.-high layer of gravel or pebbles over the hole to provide secure drainage. Then fill the container until it is 10 cm. below its rim with the nursery frame mixture. Add a handful of peat (*kavool*) and a handful of bone-meal (*kemah atsamot*), as well as two spoonsful of superphosphate for every container.

Use a small rake or a handfork to work the additions three to four centimetres deep into the topsoil. Level the surface and plant so that only the upper leaves are showing above ground. This won't smother the plant, but will allow roots to form also on the stem (like in propagations by cuttings). This will provide your tomato plants with an extra large root system. Water regularly and feed with half a teaspoon of 20-20-20 (general fertilizer) every three to four weeks.

From the time the first seeds show through the soil until the last vegetables are gathered in the autumn, a vegetable garden always provides excitement and pleasure for the whole family — as well as healthy fresh vegetables which contain greater nutritional properties than those bought from the markets.

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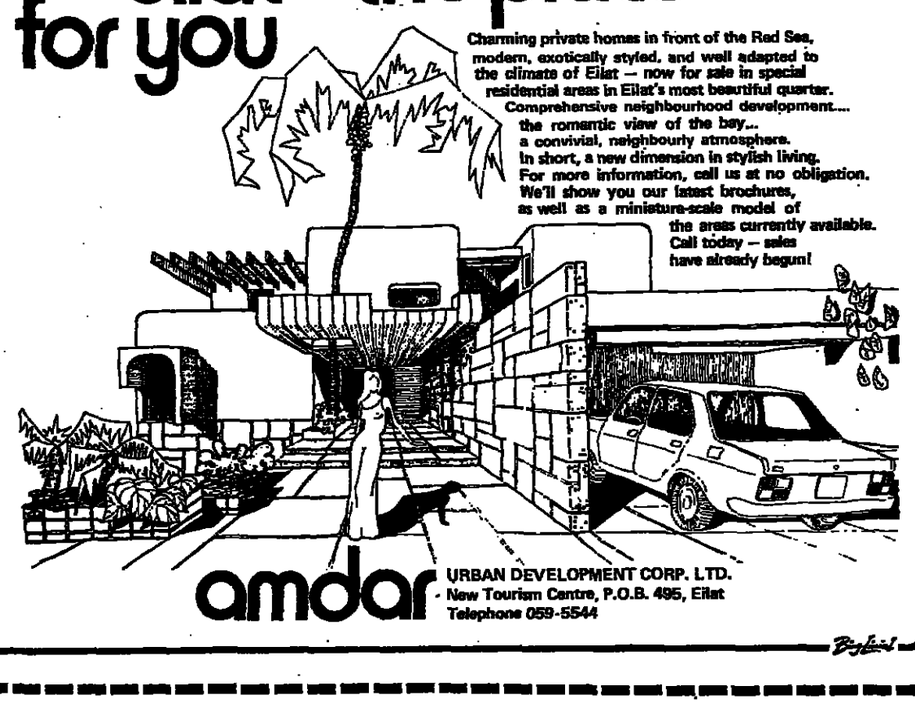

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FOR OFFICE USE

Future cooperation between Egypt and Israel

## Building our next cement plant in Egypt is professor's plan

By MACABEE DEAN
Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — Israel's next cement factory should be built in Egypt, Prof. Ze'ev Hirsch, of the School of Business Administration at Tel Aviv University, said yesterday at a study day devoted to the future economic cooperation between the two countries.

He cited this proposed project as being beneficial to both countries. "Israel needs the cement and to build it here will cost an enormous sum of money; it will probably cost less in Egypt." However, he pointed out, once the factory was set up and functioning, it would be able to produce cement much more cheaply in Egypt than in Israel. One of the major production costs in making cement was fuel. Israel had to import its fuel; Egypt had sufficient quantities. Moreover, Egypt was "burning off" huge quantities of natural gas from its oil wells, and this gas could be used to run the plant.

The distance between the two countries was not so great as to make transport costs a major barrier. "Thus, Egypt could earn foreign currency by selling its cement to Israel, while if it shipped it to Europe, transport costs might price its cement out of the market."

Prof. Hirsch believed, moreover, that the entire financing of the plant — even if the major portion, if not all of its output, was destined for Israel — should come from Egyptian sources. The management should also be Egyptian. Thus, the Egyptians would not feel tied to Israel in any way, and if difficulties arose, the Egyptians could market their cement elsewhere, or use it themselves.

He pointed out that another scheme of benefit to both sides would be selling Israel water from the Nile.

Israel at present uses two billion cubic metres a year; Egypt has about 55 billion cubic metres a year from the Nile. Israeli engineers could probably show how to increase Egypt's exploitation of its resources, providing a surplus of about five million cubic metres a year.

"If Israel only imports about 10 per cent of this 5 million cubic metre surplus or 500,000 cubic metres, Egypt would earn considerable foreign currency," Hirsch pointed out. But he warned that "the Egyptians could turn off the spigot at any time, thus making Israel dependent on their good will."

This problem could be solved in two major ways. One was the long-hoped-for breakthrough in desalinating water at a reasonable price; the other was to make Egypt just as dependent on something from Israel, so the "dependencies of the two countries would cancel each other out."

Prof. Baruch Lev, dean of the School of Business Administration, rejected claims that "a lecturer or professor who teaches only six to eight hours a week only works this amount of time." Long hours had to be spent in providing the background material for each lecture; also, each member of the academic staff spent considerable time in doing original research.

"Moreover, salaries are quite low; if we were not to eke out our incomes by acting as consultants to industry the equivalent of one day a week (the staff is not allowed to act as consultants more than this), the professors would be hard put to finish out the month — "as is the case with many other categories of salaried people."

Prof. Lev also stressed that the sabbatical given to the academic staff every seven years was of vital importance. "Israel is about 18 months behind the U.S. in many fields, including ours, and the only way to keep up to date is to spend time abroad, learning the latest methods and ways of thinking."

Deputy Defence Minister Mordechai Zippori (second from right) receiving explanations at an exhibition of locally-made communications equipment during his recent week-long visit to Egypt as guest of the army.

## Strains of coin collecting

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN
Jerusalem Finance Reporter

AINA, The American Israel Numismatic Association is an American non-profit organization with more than 3,000 members. About 70 AINA members have just completed the organization's 12th annual tour to Israel.

Through its 45 numismatic clubs scattered throughout the U.S., Israel, Canada, England, France, Argentina, Australia, Japan and Germany, AINA promotes the coins and medals of the State of Israel by holding numismatic conventions and by means of its bi-monthly magazine, the Shekel. Over the years the organization has acted as distributor of Israeli coins and medals issued by the Israel Government Coins and Medals Corporation (IGCMC).

Already in advance of the group's visit it became apparent that the AINA-IGCMC relationship was strained. In the March-April Shekel issue AINA president Edward Schuman wrote: "Since its inception 13 years ago, AINA has always earned operational revenue through the IGCMC. The commissions earned account for almost 50 per cent of our operating budget. We have been informed by E. Shiloni, director-general of the IGCMC, that they can no longer grant AINA a commission or discount on items." Schuman then suggests that members of AINA subscribe directly with the IGCMC.

Schuman told the press that a break with IGCMC was avoided, but that the discount earned by AINA was reduced by more than half.

"It is difficult for us to understand the corporation's approach to us," he said. "In the past two years we have been responsible for more than $500,000 in sales. Besides our numismatic efforts we have already planted more than $50,000 worth of trees in two forests in Israel. During our present visit we have undertaken to finance a $100,000 facility at Jerusalem's Shaare Zedek Hospital.

"Our treasurer, Sidney Olson, has donated $250,000 to Shaare Zedek. Yet when we recently tried to buy a large quantity of IL5 coins from the Bank of Israel, we were told it must be done through the IGCMC, which asked for a commission.

"These coins are being withdrawn from circulation and will be melted down, but we want to overstrike one side with a Shaare Zedek motif. The coin would subsequently be given to every individual making a contribution to the hospital," Schuman said.

With the relationship with IGCMC already strained, AINA officials aired some further complaints. In the past all brilliant uncirculated coins struck at the Jerusalem mint were marked with the Star of David. Without any advance notice, the same marking is being applied to coins being struck at the mint in Utrecht, Holland, now.

Subsequently, at a banquet held at the Jerusalem Hilton Hotel and in the presence of Mayor Teddy Kollek, Eliezer Shiloni and David Shoham, board chairman of the IGCMC, the atmosphere between the two groups was somewhat improved, though still highly strained.

Sidney Olson of AINA expressed his feelings by saying: "We are numismatists, but our impression is that the members of the IGCMC are businessmen and not numismatists, and this is the core of the problem."

This is not the first time that friction has existed between AINA and the IGCMC, but it has never before reached the current proportions.

## Treasury: no more three-ye savings plans after April

By SHLOMO MAOZ
Post Economic Reporter

The Treasury does not plan to extend past this month permission for banks to offer savings plans involving full linkage after three years, capital markets commissioner Ben-Ami Zuckerman said yesterday.

Beginning April 1, he said, permits will be given only for plans of four years or longer.

Zuckerman noted that during the coming fiscal year some IS2.5b. in savings will be redeemed, and expressed uncertainty as to the banks' ability to reattract that amount in new investment.

The banks hold bonds to cover existing savings, but unless new savings are generated, he said, they may have to sell the bonds, which would force the government to print large quantities. This argument has also b by MK Adi Amoral (Lab

Meanwhile, latest figures show that savings real terms has dropped s ly. The September 197 IL109b., only a 1 per cent real terms over June previous quarter had sh per cent increase, and before that 3.3 per cent.

If the trend continue mean difficulties in rais from the public in comi in the form of savings.

Analysts predict that posable income drops h few months, the public maintain its standard o saving less, thus accel tendency already in several years.

## Reviving the craft of horology

Jerusalem Post Reporter

TEL AVIV. — A school for watchmakers is being planned by the Citizen Watch Company (Israel), Norberto Frajman, head of the local outlet of the international firm, which makes its headquarters in Japan, but has outlets throughout the Western world, said recently.

Frajman noted that "the art of repairing watches is fast disappearing here, since most of the local watchmakers learned their vocation abroad." No decision had yet been taken on the number of students, but Frajman thought the majority would be invalids, possibly from the armed services.

Frajman estimated that about half of all watches now being imported here are Citizen products.

In 1978, some 50,000 Citizen watches were sold for about IL60m. Last year, 65,000 Citizen watches were sold for about IL100m.

The company currently has three workshops, in Jerusalem and Haifa, where it repa watches. A fourth is p Beersheba. Also planne headquarters building Manshieh quarter of Te

In 1979 world pro watches and clocks was pieces. Of this, 58 m made in Japan, and of 19 million were made factory sources say.

Japan is today the wo making watches, fo Hongkong, Taiwan, S Switzerland and France Russia, the sources sai


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## FIBI Holding Co. had 236.3% gain in profits

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN
Post Finance Reporter

TEL AVIV. — FIBI Holding Co. has just published its fiscal reports for 1979, which indicate that the company earned IL216.9m., a gain of 236.3 per cent over the same period a year ago. Earnings per share stood at 94.7 per cent and reflected a rise of 180.2 per cent.

FIBI Holding Co. is a bankholding company which controls, among others, the First International Bank of Israel, Merav Mortgage and Savings Bank, Bank Lemelacha, the Israel Industrial Bank and Bank Poalei Aguda. During the year under review the bankholding company has come under the control of the Eisenberg group.

The consolidated balance sheet total stood at IL48.9b. and reflected a gain of nearly 120 per cent.

In the profit and loss statement it is interesting to note that both ordinary income and ordinary expenses rose by nearly the identical figure of about 245 per cent. Salaries and related expenses rose by 125 per cent. The rise was somewhat higher than that registered by most other commercial banks.

The contribution of the First International Bank to the consolidated profits was IL170m. On a percentage basis it remained the same as in 1978. There was a retroactive adjustment of IL18.3m. along with a net extraordinary income and expenditure account for the IL17.8m. adjustment for previous years. The retroactive adjustment was made in keeping with the decision of the Institute of Public Accountants regarding provision for employees' vacations.

The capital means of the bankholding company stood at 13.6 per cent of total assets, while the paid-up capital was 0.41 per cent, fractionally lower than a year ago.

At the time of the publication of the balance sheet a final 8 per cent cash dividend was announced. This brought the annual cash dividend payments to 15 per cent, the same as in 1978.

The board of directors has recommended the distribution of 66.6 per cent in bonus shares, in addition to the 33.3 per cent already paid. In 1978 bonus share payments came to 43 per cent.

LEVIS. — ATA expects to export Levi brand jeans valued at $1.5m. to Europe this year, the firm reports. In the past two years ATA, which manufactures the jeans under franchise from the U.S. parent company, exported a total value of $1.25m. to Europe.

## U.S. current account deficit down to $317m.

WASHINGTON (UPI). — The U.S. balance of payments deficit with the rest of the world shrank to only $317m. in 1979, the Commerce Department reported Thursday — virtually the zero balance for which the Administration had hoped.

Compared to deficits of $14b. in 1977 and $13.5b. in 1978, the figure for 1979 as a whole was a dramatic improvement. And it occurred despite a doubling of petroleum prices and a $15b. rise in the country's bill for foreign oil.

The balance of payments is the amount of U.S. exports measured against the amount of its imports. The sharp improvement in the payments balance is expected to strengthen the dollar, which is weakened by continued large deficits caused by a high ratio of imports over exports.

What was good news for the U.S. was bad news for some other major countries.

Japan and West Germany, both more dependent on foreign oil than the U.S., each are expected to move from large surplus balances in 1978 to large deficits in 1979.

At the same time, U.S. government economists estimate the 13 OPEC countries have gone from a $7b. surplus in 1978 to a $65b. surplus in 1979.


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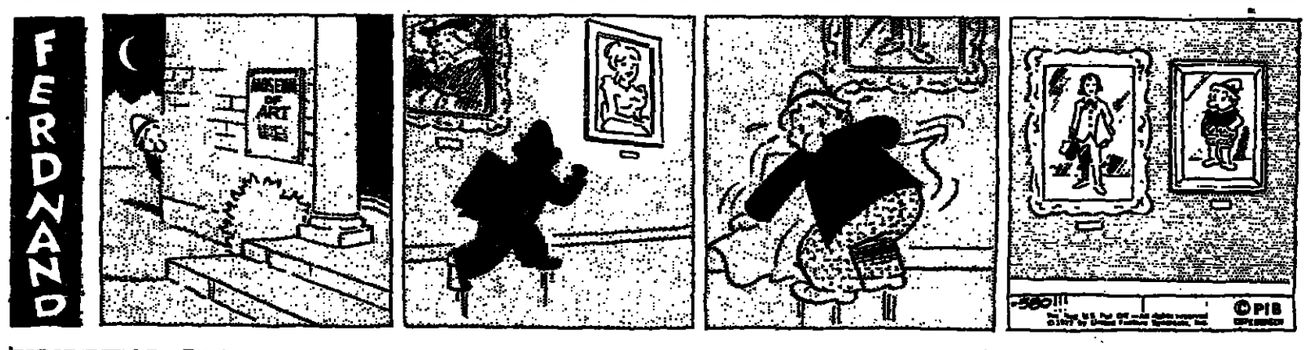


## WHAT'S ON

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### Jerusalem

**MUSEUMS**

**Israel Museum. Exhibitions.** Permanent Collection of Judaica, Art and Archaeology. The Pins Collection of Chinese and Japanese paintings and prints: Colour in the Youth Wing: Maremont Collection of Pre-Columbian Art. Borders. Lines into Drawings. Chinese Paintings from the Arthur M. Sackler Collection. Purim Exhibit: Decorated chicken and eggs. Sheila Hicks-Free Fall.

PLEASE NOTE THAT SOME AREAS WILL BE CLOSED AT VARIOUS TIMES AS AN ECONOMY MEASURE.

Open 10-5. At 11 and 3.30: "Thief of Baghdad," film for children. Open tomorrow 4-10. At 3.30: "Clothes," a show for children.

**Shrine of the Book:** Open Sun., Mon., Wed., Thur., 10-5; Tues. 4-10. Fri., Sat. 10-2.

**Rockefeller Museum:** Sun., Tues., Thurs., 10-5; Sat. 10-2; Closed Mon., Wed., Fri.

**Old City Art Guide.**

**The Jerusalem Artists Workshop,** 7 Tiferet Israel, Jewish Quarter. Open 9 a.m.-8 p.m. (closed Shabbat hours). Ceramic arts, sculptures, reliefs, artistic functional pottery, serigraphs.

**CONDUCTED TOURS**

**Hadassah Tours**

1. Medical Centre, Kiryat Hadassah, English Tours: 9, 10, 11, noon, leaving from Kennedy Bldg., includes Chagall Windows. No charge. Friday tours begin at 8 a.m. by appointment only. Tel. 02-416333 or 02-426271.

2. Hadassah Synagogue-Chagall Windows: Open to public from 1.30-4 p.m. Sunday-Thursday. Buses 19, 27.

3. Mt. Scopus Hospital: Hourly tours at 9, 10, 11, noon. No charge. Tel. 02-818111. Buses 9, 28.

4. Morning half-day tour of all Hadassah projects. $5 per person towards transportation. Reservations: Tel. 02-416333, 02-426271.

**Hebrew University,** tours in English at 9 and 11 a.m. from Administration Building. Givat Ram Campus. Buses 9 and 28.

Mount Scopus tours 11.00 a.m. from the Bronfman Reception Centre, Sherman Building. Bus 9 and 28 to last stop. Further details: Tel. 882813.

**Emunah** — World Religious Zionist Women: 26 Ben Maimon. Visit our projects: Jerusalem 662468, 630629, 811588; Netanya 053-24430; Haifa 04-236031.

**American Mizrachi Women.** Free Morning Tours — 19a Keren Hayesod Street, Jerusalem. Tel. 232758.

**MISCELLANEOUS**

**Plant a Tree with your Own Hands** with the Jewish National Fund and visit the famous Stalactite Cave every Sunday morning. For details and reservations please call: 02-635261, ext. 13 or 03-234449.

**Jerusalem Biblical Zoo,** Schneller Wood, Romema. Tel. 814822, 7.30 a.m.-7 p.m.

### Tel Aviv

**MUSEUMS**

**Tel Aviv Museum. Exhibitions.** American Art in the Twentieth Century. Visiting Hours: Sun.-Thur. 10 a.m.-10 p.m. (permanent exhibitions 10 a.m.-5 p.m.). Sat. 10 a.m.-2 p.m.; 7-11 p.m. Closed Fri. except box office — open 10 a.m.-1 p.m. Helena Rubinstein Library: Sun., Mon., Wed., 10 a.m.-4 p.m. Tues., Thur. 10 a.m.-1 p.m.; 4-8 p.m. Graphics Study Room: Mon., Wed. 10 a.m.-1 p.m.; 5-8 p.m. The Helena Rubinstein Pavilion is closed to permit preparation of an exhibition.

**CONDUCTED TOURS**

**ORT Israel:** For visits please contact: ORT Tel Aviv, Tel. 232231, 775131; ORT Jerusalem, Tel. 533141; ORT Netanya, Tel. 33744.

**American Mizrachi Women.** Free Morning Tours — Tel Aviv. Tel. 220187, 243706.

**Plant a Tree with your Own Hands,** with the Jewish National Fund every Tuesday morning. For details and reservations call 03-234449 or 02-635261, ext. 13.

**Emunah-World Rel. Zionist Women.** Visit our projects: 03-788342, 703440.

### Haifa

**What's On in Haifa,** dial 840840.

### Rehovot

**The Weizmann Institute** open to public from 9.00 a.m. to 3.30 p.m. Visitors invited to see film on Institute's research activities, shown regularly at 11.00 a.m. and 3.00 p.m. Friday 11.00 a.m. only.

**Tours of the Weizmann House** every half hour from 9.00 a.m. to 3.30 p.m. and until noon on Friday. Nominal fee for admission to Weizmann House.

**For Tours of the House please book:** Tel. 054-83280, 054-83328.

## GENERAL ASSISTANCE

### EMERGENCY PHARMACIES

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**Tel Aviv:** Netzah Israel, 11 Netzah Israel, 226545. **Holon:** Assuta, 4 Trumpeldor, 858197. **Bat Yam:** Gane Bat Yam, 3 Haneviim, 585671. **Ramat Gan:** Hasharon, 23 Jerusalem, 742048. **Rishon:** Klara, 4 Manya Shohat, 999649. **Netanya:** Geva, 14 Shaar Hagai, 22895. **Hadera:** Yafa, 62 Weizmann, 22122.
**Haifa:** Nove Shaanan, 37 Hatichon, 235539; Sabibia, 24 Hagefen, H.Bialik, 712674.
**Beersheba:** Assuta, Merkaz Gilad Hadash, Hanesi'im, 76777.

### DUTY HOSPITALS

**Jerusalem:** Bikur Holim (pediatrics), Hadassah (internal, surgery, orthopaedics, E.N.T.), Misgav Ladach (obstetrics), Shaare Zedek (ophthalmology).
**Tel Aviv:** Rokah (pediatrics), Ichilov (internal, surgery).
**Netanya:** Laniado (obstetrics, internal, pediatrics).
**Haifa:** Carmel
**"Eran"** — Mental Health First Aid, Tel. Jerusalem 669911, Tel Aviv 283311, Haifa 538888, Beersheba 32111, Netanya 35516.
**Misgav Ladach:** Open line 4-6 p.m. every Monday answers to obstetrics, gynaecological, sterility and family planning problems. Tel. 02-633336.

### FIRST AID

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Phone numbers: Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Haifa — 101. Dan Region (Ramat Gan, Bnei Brak, Givatayim, Kiryat Ono) — 781111.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ashdod 22222 | Nazareth 54333 |
| Ashkelon 23333 | Netanya 28333 |
| Bat Yam 883535 | Petah Tikva 912333 |
| Beersheba 78333 | Rehovot 054-61333 |
| Eilat 2333 | Rishon LeZion 942333 |
| Hadera 22333 | Safed 90333 |
| Holon 803123 | Tiberias 20111 |
| Nahariya 923333 | |

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### FLIGHTS

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**ARRIVALS**

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1410 SAA 366 Lisbon, Johannesburg
1430 El Al 094 New York
1450 Lufthansa 604 Frankfurt
1523 El Al 364 Vienna
1530 El Al 386 Rome
1725 KLM 825 Amsterdam
1800 Airfrance 132 Paris, Lyon
1810 Swissair 332 Zurich
1815 TWA 810 Los Angeles, Boston, Paris, Rome, Athens
1820 Alitalia 748 Rome
1910 Olympic 301 Athens
1950 British Airways 576 London
2025 Lufthansa 606 Munich
2035 El Al 316 London
2055 El Al 324 Paris
2125 El Al 378 Copenhagen
2130 El Al 334 Amsterdam, Brussels
2145 El Al 334 Frankfurt
2300 El Al 444 Cairo

**DEPARTURES**

0045 El Al 005 New York, Chicago
0620 TWA 811 Athens, Rome, Paris, Boston, Los Angeles
0650 El Al 363 Vienna
0700 Swissair 333 Zurich
0710 TWA 803 Paris, New York, Washington
0730 El Al 385 Rome
0750 Olympic 302 Athens
0800 El Al 029 Paris, Montreal, New York
0820 El Al 353 Zurich, Frankfurt
0830 British Airways 577 London
0900 El Al 315 London
0920 El Al 327 Amsterdam, Brussels
1000 El Al 377 Copenhagen
1030 El Al 323 Paris
1550 Lufthansa 605 Frankfurt
1610 SAA 267 Lisbon, Johannesburg
1900 El Al 443 Cairo
1930 Alitalia 747 Rome
1940 Airfrance 133 Lyon, Paris

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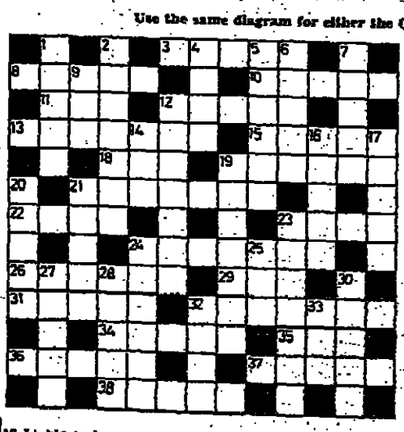
## TWO-IN-ONE CROSSWO

### CRYPTIC PUZZLE

Use the same diagram for either the Cryptic or the Easy puzzle.

ACROSS
1 A garment to hiss and jeer at? (5)
4 True blend of alloy (5)
10 Tear ahead to town (5)
11 A plaything to finish the day (3)
12 Cry a little, as is one's custom (5)
13 That which makes firearms heated (7)
15 Catch from the seas, we hear (5)
18 Dine in the attic (5)
19 To slip into character (6)
21 They spout a lot (7)
22 The way a rod breaks (4)
23 Lakeland! (4)
24 Like a damned brief inspection (7)
28 The less sharp variety of navels (5)
29 Game of patience? (3)
31 The quiver of nonsense & crooked pile outright! (5)
33 Star missile (7)
34 Officer in the room with a fiend (5)
35 Less than a stone in weight? (3)
36 A low, calculating creature (5)
37 Sounds a sweetie! (5)
38 She starts and finishes nicely at speed (5)

DOWN
1 Add that a child's out of bed (3, 2)
2 Two farming requirements of the countryman (7)
3 A bit to eat? (4)
5 Credit is again a serious consideration (6)
6 Fliers bloun up? (5)
7 Dog able to lift a little weight on its head! (5)
9 Over there in the bed beyond (3)
12 The historic character of Tottenham (7)
14 Will deserve "2 Down" of growth potential (7)
16 Liable to be scratched (5)
17 Dodge a crazy duel a certain way (5)
19 Is one quick to get to its north end? (7)
20 Grab initially a government file (5)
21 Talk, or stars' surname (5)
23 Maker of a resetter? (7)
24 What to eat when it comes to the crunch (6)
25 That which Olive has sulli? (3)
27 The Continental Editor's city? (5)
28 Expand and win out (5)
30 Horse one makes a point of breaking? (5)
32 Whether sailors can duck into the drink? (4)
33 A little bounder! (3)



### EASY PUZZLE

ACROSS
3 Underground vault (5)
8 Mar (5)
10 Duck (5)
11 Deserter (3)
12 Beneath (5)
13 Going different ways (7)
15 Tranquillity (5)
18 Make a mistake (3)
19 Boat (6)
21 Smartened oneself (7)
22 Potter's oven (4)
23 Sell (4)
24 Liked greatly (7)
26 Prudish (6)
29 Male offspring (5)
31 Facets (5)
32 Cringed (7)
34 Neutered fowl (5)
35 Organs of vision (3)
36 Civilian clothes (5)

DOWN
1 Grieves (5)
2 Pagan (5)
4 Several (10)
5 Acute (5)
6 Clubs (3)
7 Lucky (5)
9 Stutter (5)
14 Rap (5)
16 Have (5)
17 Steady (5)
18 Asses (5)
20 Needle (5)
22 Pare (4)
24 Knot (5)
25 Rattles (5)
26 Cover (5)
27 Blown (5)
28 Aided (5)
29 Address (3)
30 Heads (4)
31 Photo (3)

Easy Solution.
ACROSS—1. Dries. 5. Pagan. 9. Several. 10. Acute. 11. Clubs. 12. Lucky. 13. Stutter. 15. Rap. 17. Have. 18. Steady. 19. Asses. 20. Needle. 22. Pare. 24. Knot. 25. Rattles. 26. Cover. 27. Blown. 28. Aided. 29. Address. 30. Heads. 31. Photo.
DOWN—2. Reside. 3. Estate. 4. Sew. 5. Pennar. 6. Packets. 7. Ally. 8. Arabled. 14. Leaue. 16. Shone. 18. Urged. 19. Radar. 21. Pyres. 23. Sewer. 24. Almonds. 25. Entire. 27. Punish. 28. Repent. 29. Rears. 30. Coal. 31. Asp.

Cryp
ACROSS—1. Gi
9. Delilah. 10. Rain
12. Scout. 13. SP-C
17. Arab. 18. Gene
20. Crowns. 22. S
23. Shudder. 24. T
Kind. 28. Y-gild. 29.
Aspen. 31. Angle.
DOWN—2. Relig
3. Tee. 5. Silver. 6.
That. 8. Cocker. 1
Sauce. 14. C-AN-el.
16. Adder. 18. Gem
21. Sacred. 22. S
23. Dandle. 25. Ha
Tope. 26. Via.

SOLUTIONS TO TODAY'S PUZZLE TOMORROW

# Setting the record straight on emigration

page article called The
gma, which appeared
ry, March 6, David
oted the Austrian
as saying that: "There
from Israel, on a scale
arcely exceeds im-
ent on to show that ac-
the Statistical Abstract,
migratory balance in
ways been positive. The
migration over emigra-
period 1965-1971 was
the latest period, 1972-
121,200.
ly Bulletin of Statistics,
ary 1980), reveals an im-
surplus of 24,966 in 1978.
om the Central Bureau
indicates a surplus in

A Heller, a Senior
ssociate at Tel Aviv
Centre for Strategic
te a letter to refute
ine's findings. He said,

I reject most of
ssertions concerning
m afraid that on the
immigration and
is not far wrong.
claims that emigration
ale which apparently
migration to Israel. You
from the Central
tistics to counter this
CBS figures on which
quite misleading and
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letin of Statistics of
to show an immigra-
in 1978 of 24,966. That
is also given in the
79 issue of the Monthly

on closer examina-
is not an immigration
a balance of total
and out of the coun-
foreign tourists.
balance itself is +13,-
ure is subtracted from
, the result is +11,842
sitive immigration
far smaller than that
gest for 1978.
reasoning is applied to
however, the picture
out Kreisky's conten-
, the immigration
328 (again, excluding
f of foreign tourists);
3; in 1975, —3522; in

Indeed, the six-year totals (for 1965-1971 and 1972-1977) apparently also include tourist balances. For 1972-1977, you reproduce the figure of 121,200 (Statistical Abstract of Israel, 1978, p. 32). This is the sum total of the individual balances for those years. But these individual balances include tourism balances, just as does the 1978 figure of 24,966.

On the same basis, the 1965-71 figure should be reduced from 145,600 to 79,400.

**David Krivine writes in reply.**

Dr. Heller is right in his criticism. My figure of 24,966 for net immigration in 1978 comes from a table which gives the balance between arrivals and departures in 1978. This includes tourists, and I did not take into account that the volume of tourism is increasing year by year, so 13,354 more tourists were in the country at the end of 1978 than at the end of 1977.

But Dr. Heller has overlooked an important fact too. Tourism goes both ways. The number of Israeli holiday-makers travelling abroad is also on the increase. Just as there are more foreign tourists in this country each year, so there are more Israelis abroad each year, and the one offsets the other in part.

Not all the exiting Israelis return. But nor do all the incoming tourists go back.

What is the migratory balance then? The number of immigrants arriving, including tourists who come to settle, was as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1974 | 31,979 |
| 1975 | 20,028 |
| 1976 | 19,754 |
| 1977 | 21,429 |
| 1978 | 26,394 |

How many Israelis emigrated? It depends on the definition of an emigrant. Table IV/5 in the Statistical Abstract shows how long Israel's departing travellers have stayed abroad.

In 1970, 142,400 left the country, and 122,300 were back within the same year, leaving 20,100 still abroad. Are those emigrants? Not all, by any means. In the following year 7,800 of them came back, and in the year after that another 3,800.

It is impossible to know at the time of departure how many of the exiting travellers are going for a short vacation, how many are off to study at a foreign university, how many will be taking up a temporary post overseas (diplomat, *shaliah*), and how many are leaving the country for good and all.

Some analysts have decided as a rule-of-thumb that departing Israelis who are not back within four years can be written off as emigrants.

Applying this test, we find that the number of emigrants rose at the time of the Yom Kippur War, but contrary to popular belief has declined since.

| Emigrants | | Emigrants (est.) | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1970 | 7,100 | 1975 | 13,000 |
| 1971 | 9,000 | 1976 | 15,000 |
| 1972 | 7,900 | 1977 | 12,000[1] |
| 1973 | 14,800 | 1978 | 10,000[2] |
| 1974 | 16,400 | | |

[1]Published figure: 11,000-13,000
[2]Published figure: 8,000-12,000
The prediction for 1979 is about the same as for 1978.

Incidentally, not all those away for four years are lost to the country. The 1978 Statistical Abstract deals with information up to 1977. Four years before that takes us back to 1973. Prior to 1973 we have the following information:

| | Did not return during first 4 years | Not back by 1977 (more than 4 years) |
|---|---|---|
| 1968 | 7,000 | 4,700 |
| 1969 | 6,200 | 4,500 |
| 1970 | 7,100 | 5,500 |
| 1971 | 9,000 | 7,300 |
| 1972 | 7,900 | 6,700 |

Evidently some people quitting the country return after a long absence. On the other hand Israelis settled abroad who come to Israel merely for a visit are apt to be classified as having returned for good. So the four-year rule seems as fair a measuring-rod as any.

I take the period 1974-77, during which Dr. Heller alleges there was a net emigration. Here are the figures, based on the knowledge at the CBS's disposal.

(The third column gives the emigration of potential immigrants who left the country before acquiring citizenship. I estimate the figure as 20 per cent of those who had come three years before.)

| | Immigration | Emigration | Potential immigrants who left | Net Immigration |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1974 | 31,979 | —16,400 | —2,313 | 13,270 |
| 1975 | 20,028 | —13,000 | —1,880 | cir. 5,000 |
| 1976 | 19,754 | —15,000 | —1,527 | cir. 3,000 |
| 1977 | 21,429 | —12,000 | —1,173 | cir. 8,000 |
| 1978 | 26,394 | —10,000 | — 985 | cir. 15,000 |

The net movement was into Israel and not, as Heller (and Kreisky) state, out of Israel.

The figure which I gave of 121,100 as net immigration during the years 1972-77 is correct (immigration was high in 1972 and 1973). It refers to permanent residents and does not include tourists.

The connection that Dr. Heller makes between the tables on p. 32 and p. 125 of the Abstract is mistaken (indeed the figures on p. 125 do not add up to 121,100, which should have caused Heller to suspect that something was wrong).

Finally, let me add the calculation recently made by the CBS, released in a press handout on December 31, 1979, about population growth during the entire decade of the 1970's (1969 to 1979). The permanent Jewish population of Israel rose by 706,000, of which natural increase accounted for 471,000.

The migratory balance, that is, the excess of immigrants over emigrants, came to 235,000.

My thanks are due to Dr. Eytan Sabatello, director of the division of population, demography and health at the CBS, for his valuable assistance in unravelling these statistics.

# Bonds and shares moderately higher

TEL AVIV. — Index-linked bonds and equities started the week on a positive note as a generally upward trend was felt in both sectors. Trading in linked bonds picked up considerably as both institutional and private investor demand was felt. Turnover totalled IL116.7m.

Currently on offer from the Bank of Israel is its new 80 per cent issue, in the order of IL500m. Observers expect the issue to sell out before the end of the month, since yields on market traded bonds are expected to fall below the level of the new issue.

The action in the share market continues to be attributed to bargain hunting, which already had appeared last Thursday in the wake of the recently falling equity market. The trading volume yesterday did not indicate that there was a popular demand for shares, as it was lower than Thursday's and totalled only IL118.5m.

Among the Big Three banks Hapoalim was ahead by 5, Leumi by 3 and IDB by 2 points. FIBI rose by 4, Union by 2 and General Bank by one. Mizrahi traded ex-dividend and ex-bonus and at 374 reflected a gain of 3 points.

Mortgage bank issues were moderately higher. Among specialized financial institutions Shilton (b) rose by nearly 7 per cent.

Insurance stocks also trended slightly higher. The gains were as high as 2 per cent.

Land development and real estate equities were mostly mixed. Africa-Israel IL1 was down by 4.5 per cent, while Ispro rose by 4.1 per cent. Azorim was unchanged, while the company's accompanying options were dropped for an 8.5 per cent loss. Rassco ordinary shares were ahead by 6 points, to 137.

Industrials came through with the best performance of the session. Urdan IL1 rose by 20 points, for a gain of 8.7 per cent. Elco IL1 was "buyers only," while Electra IL5 was moving ahead by 4.5 per cent. Dubek (r) advanced by 23 points, to 521, while Teva (r) jumped by 7.5 per cent, to 546. Phoenicia was among the few losers as it went down by 7.3 per cent. Israel Petrochemicals was "sellers only," but Shemen gained 5 per cent.

Investment company shares were mixed. Amissar rose by nearly 9 per cent, while the options were almost 10 per cent higher. Clal Real Estate was rocked for a 9.6 per cent loss.

## Market report

By JOSEPH MORGENSTERN

# Tel Aviv Stock Exchange

| Comm Banks & Bankholding | Closing price | Volume IL1,000 | Change |
|---|---|---|---|
| IDB prf | 2840.0 | 22.5 | n.c. |
| IDB | 638.0 | 549.7 | +2.0 |
| IDB B | 638.0 | 129.0 | +2.0 |
| IDB prf A | 744.0 | 16.0 | +2.0 |
| IDB op 4 | 1170.0 | 56.1 | n.c. |
| IDB op 5 | 680.0 | 33.3 | +3.0 |
| IDB op 6 | 535.0 | 400.1 | +7.0 |
| Union | 737.0 | 209.3 | +2.0 |
| Union op | 728.0 | 12.5 | +2.0 |
| Unionm op 3 | 1180.0 | 6.5 | n.c. |
| Union op 4 | 560.0 | 107.2 | —5.0 |
| Union 18%sc | 265.0 | 140.5 | —2.0 |
| Union 18%sc5 | 290.0 | 91.4 | +5.0 |
| Discount | 185.0 | 157.8 | —2.0 |
| Discount A | 853.0 | 10.0 | +3.0 |
| Discount A5%sc | 555.0 | 53.4 | +3.0 |
| Mizrahi r | 298.0 | 58.0 | +1.0 |
| Mizrahi b | c374.0 | 939.5 | +3.0 |
| Mizr op 1 | c372.0 | 855.8 | +3.0 |
| Mizr op 2 | z1577.0 | 17.5 | +10.0 |
| Mizr op 3 | z1350.0 | 9.0 | +12.0 |
| Mizr op 4 | z535.0 | 49.5 | +5.0 |
| Mizr 15%sc2 | z1135.0 | — | +1.0 |
| Mizr 20%sc4 | z487.0 | 22.5 | n.c. |
| Mizr 18%sc5 | z397.0 | 2.0 | +5.0 |
| Mizr 18%sc6 | z321.0 | 37.1 | n.c. |
| Mizr sc7 | z280.0 | 293.2 | n.c. |
| Hapoalim prf | 950.0 | 2.2 | +5.0 |
| Hapoalim r | 921.0 | 2864.0 | +5.0 |
| Hapoalim b | 921.0 | 509.5 | +5.0 |
| Hap 50%div | 916.0 | 127.7 | +5.0 |
| Hap op 3 | 1910.0 | 1.7 | +45.0 |
| Hap op 2 | 1910.0 | 9.5 | +10.0 |
| Hap op 4 | 1192.0 | 11.0 | +2.0 |
| Hap op 5 | 995.0 | 67.7 | +5.0 |
| Hap op 7 | 571.0 | 206.6 | n.c. |
| Hap op 9 | 842.0 | 120.0 | +5.0 |
| Hap 10%sc1 | 922.0 | — | +12.0 |
| Hap 18%sc6 | 398.0 | 420.2 | +2.0 |
| Hap 18%sc8 | 276.0 | 243.1 | n.c. |
| General | 397.0 | 329.7 | +1.0 |
| General 18%sc4 | 270.0 | 309.9 | +7.0 |
| Leumi | 799.0 | 980.2 | +3.0 |
| Leumi op 1 | 1915.0 | 2.4 | +5.0 |
| Leumi op 2 | 1075.0 | 386.5 | +5.0 |
| Leumi op 4 | 509.0 | 718.9 | +3.0 |
| Leumi 18%sc6 | 551.0 | 17.9 | +2.0 |
| Leumi 18%sc7 | 468.0 | 71.8 | +2.0 |
| Leumi 18%sc8 | 296.0 | 216.4 | +1.0 |
| OHH r | 778.0 | 13.6 | n.c. |
| OHH b | 778.0 | 8.6 | n.c. |
| Internat 6%sc1 | 297.0 | 1527.6 | +7.0 |
| FIBI | 639.0 | 511.8 | +4.0 |
| **Mortgage Banks** | | | |
| Gen Mtg r | 598.0 | 15.5 | +1.0 |
| GMg b | 604.0 | 6.8 | +1.0 |
| GenMg op 114 | 1210.0 | .5 | n.c. |
| GenMg op 117 | 299.0 | 30.0 | n.c. |
| GenMg 18%db116 | 185.0 | 20.0 | +1.0 |
| Carmel r | 219.0 | 140.5 | +9.0 |
| Carmel b | 250.0 | 19.3 | +10.0 |
| Car opA | 92.0 | 182.0 | +2.0 |
| Car 18%db10 | c73.0 | 308.6 | +6.5 |
| Mortg&Inv | — | — | — |
| Dev&Mtg r | 283.0 | 178.4 | n.c. |
| Dev&Mg b | 240.0 | 107.0 | n.c. |
| Dev&Mg op 88 | 392.0 | 3.0 | +7.0 |
| Dev&Mg op 95 | 145.0 | 127.3 | —7.0 |
| Dev&Mg 18%db87 | 186.0 | 28.4 | +1.0 |
| Dev&Mg 18%db94 | 121.0 | 51.5 | +1.0 |
| HousMtg r | 534.0 | 152.5 | +2.0 |
| HousMtg b | 543.0 | 4.0 | +2.0 |
| HousMg op 1 | 658.0 | 126.5 | +5.0 |
| HousMg op 2 | 526.0 | 100.0 | +4.0 |
| Tefahot prf r | 438.0 | 58.5 | +4.0 |
| Tefahot prf b | 437.0 | 63.0 | +2.0 |
| Tefahot r | 430.0 | 99.9 | n.c. |
| Tefahot b | 430.0 | 107.5 | n.c. |
| Merav | 508.0 | 7.4 | +3.0 |
| Merav op 1 | 430.0 | 12.5 | n.c. |
| **Specialized Financials** | | | |
| Shilton r | 97.0 | 905.2 | +1.0 |
| Shilton b | 109.0 | 21.7 | +7.0 |
| Shilton opA | 101.0 | 166.4 | +2.0 |
| Shilton opB | 118.0 | 163.5 | +1.0 |
| Shilton 18%db1 | 92.5 | 88.8 | n.c. |
| Shilton 18%db2 | 100.5 | 168.3 | +.5 |
| OtzLatasiya r | 560.0 | 58.0 | n.c. |
| OtzLatasiya b | 563.0 | 17.0 | +1.0 |
| Ampal | 509.0 | .1 | n.c. |
| AgricultureA | 110.0 | 19.8 | —3.5 |
| IndDev prf | 127.0 | 42.7 | +4.0 |
| **Insurance** | | | |
| Aryeh | 565.0 | 17.5 | n.c. |
| Aryeh op | 1070.0 | 2.3 | n.c. |
| Aryeh sc5 | 134.0 | 215.5 | +2.0 |
| Ararat IL1 | 143.0 | 144.9 | +2.5 |
| Ararat IL5 | 105.5 | 272.6 | +.5 |
| Hassneh r | 482.0 | 68.7 | +2.0 |
| Hassneh b | 887.0 | 18.4 | +2.0 |
| Hassneh op | 294.0 | 66.2 | +6.0 |
| Phoenix IL1 | 520.0 | 33.4 | n.c. |
| Phoenix IL5 | 420.0 | 74.2 | —20.0 |
| Yardenia IL1 | 140.5 | 53.2 | +1.0 |
| Yardenia IL5 | 121.0 | 122.2 | +1.0 |
| Sahar r | 343.0 | 42.9 | +2.0 |
| Sahar b | 365.0 | 6.6 | +5.0 |
| Sahar op | 97.0 | 168.4 | —1.0 |
| Sahar 18%db | 72.5 | 331.0 | +4.0 |
| Securitas | 502.0 | 125.3 | +2.0 |
| Secur op | 260.0 | 236.1 | n.c. |
| Zur r | 394.0 | 10.2 | n.c. |
| Zur b | 392.0 | 5.7 | n.c. |
| **Comm,Service &Utilities** | | | |
| Motor House | — | — | — |
| Delek r | 217.0 | 514.9 | +2.0 |
| Delek b | 235.0 | 11.0 | —7.0 |
| Delek op 1 | 990.0 | 9.0 | n.c. |
| Delek30%db2 | 312.0 | 48.0 | +5.0 |
| ColdStorageIL1 | — | — | — |
| ColdStorIL10 | 550.0 | 10.0 | n.c. |
| ColdStor opA | 256.0 | 30.0 | +2.0 |
| CoStor20%db1 | — | — | — |
| Israel Elec | 382.0 | 48.0 | +1.0 |
| LighterageIL1 | 1500 | 3.0 | +32.0 |
| LighterageIL5 | 511.0 | 5.1 | +14.0 |
| LighterageIL5 op2 | 321.0 | 28.8 | +20.0 |
| LighterageIL5 db | 281.0 | 30.0 | +16.0 |
| RapaccIL1 | 341.0 | 17.0 | +4.0 |
| RapaccIL5 | 244.0 | 11.0 | +4.0 |
| **Land,Building, Devel,Citrus** | | | |
| Azorim | 228.0 | 59.8 | n.c. |
| Azor opA | 195.0 | 212.5 | —18.0 |
| Azor20%db1 | 98.5 | 279.3 | +1.0 |
| Africa-Isr1 | 640.0 | 18.0 | —30.0 |
| Africa-Isr10 | 585.0 | 5.1 | —5.0 |
| ILDC r | 273.0 | 232.0 | n.c. |
| ILDC b | 279.0 | 40.2 | n.c. |
| ILDCnodiv | — | — | — |
| ILDC opA | 780.0 | 2.0 | —20.0 |
| ILDC opB | 344.0 | 283.8 | +4.0 |
| ILDC20%db5 | 255.0 | 4.0 | n.c. |
| ILDC20%db4 | 270.0 | 30.0 | +2.0 |
| SolelBoneh prFA | 1040.0 | 3.6 | —20.0 |
| SolelBonehprFa | 1020.0 | .1 | n.c. |
| Prop&Bldg | 286.0 | 87.6 | n.c. |
| PropBld opA | 390.0 | 10.0 | n.c. |
| PropBld opB | 258.0 | 5.6 | —2.0 |
| PropBld 15%db4 | 423.0 | — | — |
| PropBld op18%db3 | 285.0 | 15.0 | n.c. |
| BaysideIL1 | 225.0 | 154.0 | +3.0 |
| BaysideIL5 | 230.0 | 40.0 | n.c. |
| Ispro | d180.0 | 128.6 | +7.0 |
| Ispro 50%d | 179.0 | 23.4 | —8.0 |
| Ispro op1 | 94.0 | 185.1 | +5.0 |
| Isras | 900.0 | 35.3 | +10.0 |
| Mehadrin | 1770.0 | 5.3 | —15.0 |
| ICP | 1928.0 | .5 | —2.0 |
| Nrot Aviv | 595.0 | n.c. | n.c. |
| PriOr | 860.0 | 4.5 | +9.0 |
| Rassco PrF | 148.0 | 27.0 | +5.0 |
| Rassco | 137.0 | 64.4 | +6.0 |
| **Industrial** | | | |
| Urdan IL1 | d230.0 | 60.9 | +20.0 |
| Urdan IL5 | d230.0 | 35.0 | +15.0 |
| Urdan op | 138.0 | 256.5 | +18.0 |
| Elbit IL1 | 220.0 | 167.2 | +8.0 |
| Elbit IL5 | 222.0 | 60.6 | +3.0 |
| Alliance | 1455.0 | — | — |
| Elco 1 | 346.0 | b.o. | +16.0 |
| Elco IL2.5 r | 165.0 | 30.0 | +3.0 |
| Elco IL2.5 b | 160.0 | 55.0 | +4.5 |
| Elco opA | 122.0 | 104.1 | +7.0 |
| Elco20%db1 | d613.0 | 170.0 | +5.5 |
| Electra IL1 | d254.0 | 6.7 | n.c. |
| Electra IL5 | 262.0 | 176.1 | +11.0 |
| Electra op2 | 215.0 | 31.0 | +15.0 |
| Electra16%db | 122.5 | 19.0 | +8.0 |
| Electra18%db2 | 760.0 | 23.0 | n.c. |
| Elron IL1 | 407.0 | 2.7 | +10.0 |
| Elron IL2 | 167.0 | 77.0 | +2.0 |
| Elron opA | 210.0 | 133.0 | n.c. |
| Argaman prf r | 211.0 | 43.9 | n.c. |
| Argaman prf b | 192.0 | 34.3 | +4.0 |
| Argaman r | 191.0 | 202.9 | +5.0 |
| Argaman b | 129.5 | 72.1 | —3.0 |
| AtaB | 100.0 | 274.8 | +3.0 |
| AtaC | 74.5 | 1,443.9 | n.c. |
| Ata opA | 82.0 | 343.9 | +4.5 |
| Ata op3 | 73.5 | 380.2 | —2.0 |
| Ata20%deb2 | 521.0 | 138.8 | —2.0 |
| Dubek r | 508.0 | 35.0 | +23.0 |
| Dubek b | 178.5 | 23.5 | +10.0 |
| Fertilizers | 132.0 | 364.6 | +1.0 |
| Cables r | 128.0 | 75.5 | n.c. |
| Cables b | 334.0 | 89.3 | +1.5 |
| HaifaChem | 300.0 | 33.7 | n.c. |
| HaifaChm op2 | 162.0 | 12.5 | +2.0 |
| HaifaChm20%db1 | 546.0 | 635.0 | —2.0 |
| Teva r | 788.0 | 154.3 | +38.0 |
| Teva b | 554.0 | 1.6 | —2.0 |
| Teva op | c127.0 | 104.1 | +9.0 |
| Teva db | 685.0 | 604.0 | +8.0 |
| Lodzia IL1 | — | 5.9 | —36.0 |
| Lodzia IL4 | 83.0 | — | — |
| Lodzia op2 | 225.0 | 131.3 | —7.0 |
| Molett | 544.0 | 166.3 | +11.0 |
| Moller | 384.0 | 18.0 | +21.0 |
| Phoenicia IL1 | 556.0 | 12.1 | —30.0 |
| DeadSea | 582.0 | 153.3 | +2.0 |
| AmIsrPaper | 405.0 | 198.2 | —20.0 |
| AmIsr opA | c262.0 | 372.0 | +2.0 |
| AmIsr20%db1 | 260.0 | 102.4 | +8.0 |
| Assis | 210.0 | 21.0 | +15.0 |
| Assis20%db1 | 119.5 | s.o. | —6.0 |
| Petrochem | 99.0 | 255.7 | —20.0 |
| Ptrchm opA | 78.5 | 239.8 | —3.0 |
| Ptrchm20%db1 | 680.0 | 2.5 | +10.0 |
| Nechushtan r | 670.0 | .5 | +25.0 |
| Nechushtan b | 434.0 | 119.1 | n.c. |
| Elite | 322.0 | 52.2 | +9.0 |
| Elite op3 | 178.0 | 203.2 | n.c. |
| Elite20%-cnv sb2 | 415.0 | 4.8 | +19.0 |
| Arad | 636.0 | 6.0 | n.c. |
| Polgat IL1r | 485.0 | 30.0 | n.c. |
| Polgat IL5r | 230.0 | 35.2 | —1.0 |
| Polgat op | — | — | — |
| Polygon | 801.0 | — | +14.0 |
| Rim IL1 | 241.0 | 45.0 | n.c. |
| Rim IL4 | 488.0 | 34.6 | +23.0 |
| Shemen b | 150.0 | 422.7 | n.c. |
| Taal r | 183.0 | 5.0 | n.c. |
| Taal b | 108.5 | 185.5 | +.5 |
| Frutarom | 153.0 | 272.9 | n.c. |
| **Invest&Holding Companies** | | | |
| Elgar r | 905.0 | 13.5 | +5.0 |
| Elgar b | 934.0 | 7.0 | —14.0 |
| Ellern r | d853.0 | 12.0 | +8.0 |
| Ellern b | d853.0 | 12.0 | +8.0 |
| Amissar | 149.0 | 188.1 | +12.0 |
| Amissar op | 133.0 | 108.5 | +12.0 |
| CntrlTrade | 1300.0 | — | —66.0 |
| InvofPaz r | 525.0 | 38.0 | +10.0 |
| InvofPaz b | 525.0 | 80.0 | +10.0 |
| WolfsonIL1 | 740.0 | — | — |
| WolfsonIL10 r | 310.0 | 82.5 | —12.0 |
| WolfsonIL10 b | 310.0 | 102.0 | —10.0 |
| Ampa | — | — | — |
| DscInv r | 312.0 | 336.3 | —4.0 |
| DscInv b | 317.0 | 43.0 | n.c. |
| DscInv opA | 585.0 | 10.0 | n.c. |
| DscInv opB | 285.0 | 57.8 | n.c. |
| DscInv10%db72 | 394.0 | — | — |
| DscInv18%db130 | 270.0 | 65.6 | n.c. |
| DscInv18%db135 | 142.0 | 111.6 | n.c. |
| Hap'ImInv r | 578.0 | 27.0 | +2.0 |
| HapInv b | 589.0 | 8.0 | +2.0 |
| HapInv op2 | 511.0 | 19.4 | +9.0 |
| LeumiInv | 556.0 | 116.9 | +2.0 |
| JrdnExplo | 251.0 | 282.6 | +9.0 |
| JrdnExplo op | 784.0 | 2.2 | —24.0 |
| JrdnExplo op2 | 145.0 | 28.0 | nc.c. |
| JrdnExplo op3 | 107.0 | 177.4 | —9.5 |
| MizrahiInv r | 735.0 | 44.1 | +5.0 |
| MizrahiInv b | 735.0 | 15.0 | +5.0 |
| Mizrahi18%db48 | 485.0 | 80.0 | n.c. |
| Hassuta | 193.0 | 145.5 | n.c. |
| Hassuta opA | 150.0 | 262.4 | n.c. |
| Hassuta20%db1 | 89.5 | 104.0 | n.c. |
| ExprtInv r | 900.0 | 1.5 | —1.0 |
| ExprtInv b | 905.0 | 7.5 | n.c. |
| KoorInd | 2980.0 | 1.0 | n.c. |
| ClalRlEst | 170.0 | 349.6 | —18.0 |
| ClalREs opA | 247.0 | 80.7 | —30.0 |
| ClalREs opB | 66.0 | 1188.5 | n.c. |
| ClalREs20%db1 | 188.0 | 18.0 | n.c. |
| Clal | 548.0 | 29.3 | n.c. |
| ClalInd | — | — | — |
| ClalInd sc op | — | — | — |
| ClalInd op cert | 425.0 | 469.7 | +8.0 |
| ClalInd20%db3 | 403.0 | 11.0 | —2.0 |
| Landeco | 145.5 | 122.9 | —1.5 |
| OzInv | 218.0 | 114.6 | 8.0 |
| OzInv10%db | 199.0 | 3.0 | —10.0 |
| PamaInv | 230.0 | 103.0 | +10.0 |
| Pama 25%d | — | — | — |
| PiryonInv | 149.5 | 537.1 | —3.5 |
| Fuel&Explo. | | | |
| OilExploPaz | 185.0 | 668.6 | — |
| Naphtha | 750.0 | 34.2 | +50.0 |
| Lapidot r | — | — | — |
| Lapidot b | — | — | — |
| **SharesTradedIn ForeignCurrency** | | | |
| Adanim | 882.0 | — | +6.0 |
| Agric prfC | 494.0 | — | — |
| IndDev prfB | — | — | — |
| IndDevprfC | 964.0 | 13.5 | —105.0 |
| IndDevCC | 545.0 | 19.3 | —55.0 |
| IndDevCC1 | 644.0 | — | —1.0 |
| IndDevD | 820.0 | — | — |
| TouristInd | 497.0 | — | —26.0 |
| UnicoA r | 220.0 | 18.1 | —10.0 |
| UnicoA b | 248.0 | — | +12.0 |
| Gazit | 126.0 | .3 | — |

## Most active shares

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Hapoalim r | 921 | 2864.0 | +5.0 |
| Leumi | 799 | 980.2 | +3.0 |
| Mizrahi r | 374 | 939.5 | +3.0 |
| Volumes | March 23 | | March 21 |
| Shares traded: | IL18.5m. | | IL134.5m. |
| Convertibles: | IL17.0m. | | IL15.5m. |
| Bonds: | IL116.7m. | | IL66.4m. |

Abbreviations:
a.o. sellers only; b.o. buyers only; d without dividend; r without coupon; x without bonus; z without rights; n.c. no change; r registered; b bearer; prf preferred; op option; conv convertible; s.r. subordinated capital notes

These stock prices are unofficial.

# New York Stock Exchange

## Closing prices Mar. 21

**Dow Jones Industrial average**
**785.15 down 3.92**
**Volume: 32,220,000**

| | price | Change |
|---|---|---|
| Allied Chemical | 47¾ | —1¾ |
| Asa Ltd. | 44⅝ | +1⅛ |
| Avco | — | — |
| Boeing | 56¼ | —⅜ |
| Burroughs | — | — |
| Bell & Howell | — | — |
| Bally Manufacturing | — | — |
| Bausch and Lomb | — | — |
| Control Data | — | — |
| Curtiss Wright | — | — |
| Dow Chemical | — | — |
| Eastman Kodak | 45⅞ | —⅛ |
| Ford Motor | — | — |
| General Dynamics | 67½ | —2¾ |
| Gulf & Western | — | — |
| Holiday Inns | — | — |
| Honeywell | — | — |
| Hilton Hotels | — | — |
| IBM | — | — |
| Lockheed | 56¾ | —1½ |
| Litton Ind. | — | — |
| LTV | — | — |
| McDonnell Douglas | — | — |
| Merrill Lynch | — | — |
| MGM | 19½ | —⅜ |
| Motorola | — | — |
| NCR | — | — |
| Natomas | — | — |
| National Semiconductor | 38 | +½ |
| Occidental Petroleum | — | — |
| Penn Central | 24½ | —¼ |
| Pan American Airways | 17⅞ | +⅛ |
| Polaroid | 41½ | —⅛ |
| RCA | 21 | —⅛ |
| Revlon | — | — |
| Raytheon | 36½ | +⅛ |
| Sears Roebuck | — | — |
| Sperry Rand | 15 | —⅜ |
| Syntex | 49⅝ | +⅜ |
| American Tel & Tel | 47½ | n.c. |
| Telex | 3⅜ | +⅛ |
| Teledyne | — | — |
| Tyco Laboratories | 27 | —½ |
| UAL | — | — |
| Union Carbide | 37⅜ | +⅛ |
| UV Industries | — | — |
| Western Union | 20¼ | +⅛ |
| Westinghouse Electric | — | — |
| U.S. Steel | 17⅜ | —⅛ |
| Xerox | 55⅜ | +⅛ |
| Exxon | 58½ | +⅝ |
| Zenith Radio | — | — |
| **American Exchange** | | |
| Amer Isr Paper Mills | 2⅛ | n.c. |
| Etz Lavud | 4⅜ | n.c. |
| Houston Oil and Mineral | — | — |
| **OTC List** | | |
| Elscint | 8 | 8⅜ |
| IDB Ordinary | 2⅝ | 3⅛ |
| IDB Pfd. | — | — |

This selected list courtesy of

ISRAEL DISCOUNT BANK

Tel Aviv
Tel: 8 a.m.—12.30 p.m. — 627542
5 p.m.—7 p.m. — 223111

# Representative bond prices

| | Price | Change |
|---|---|---|
| **6.5% Defence loan** | | |
| 70 (Ayin) | 1573.0 | +3.0 |
| 75 (Ayin Heh) | 1610.0 | —14.0 |
| 81 (Peh Aleph) | 1580.0 | +10.0 |
| 90 (Tzadi) | 1452.0 | —20.0 |
| **4% Gov't development Group 1. Yield: +0.50** | | |
| 3001 | 1315.0 | +20.0 |
| 3007 | 1242.0 | +19.0 |
| **Group 5. Yield: +0.80** | | |
| 3020 | 895.6 | +.1 |
| 3025 | 893.4 | +4.1 |
| **Defence loan 69.** | | |
| 9 | — | — |
| 44 (Mem Dalet) | — | — |
| **4% Gov't (80% C-o-L) Group 22. Yield: +1.50** | | |
| 3101 | 668.9 | +.1 |
| 3106 | 597.1 | +.1 |
| **Group 24. Yield: +1.60** | | |
| 3110 | 584.1 | n.c. |
| 3115 | 523.3 | +.1 |
| **4% Gov't (80% C-o-L) Group 42. Yield: +1.55** | | |
| 3210 | 436.6 | 13.2 |
| 3205 | 412.9 | +13.1 |
| **6% Gov't (80% C-o-L) Group 52. Yield: +1.45** | | |
| 3501 | 358.1 | +12.5 |
| 3504 | 340.2 | +11.2 |
| **7% Gov't (80% C-o-L) Group 62. Yield: +1.65** | | |
| 3522 | 323.4 | +6.6 |
| 3526 | 311.7 | +6.4 |
| **Group 66. Yield: +1.77** | | |
| 3534 | 264.2 | +1.2 |
| 3541 | 240.0 | +1.1 |
| **Group 68. Yield: —** | | |
| 3546 | 220.6 | +.1 |
| 3551 | 208.6 | n.c. |
| **Group 70. Yield: +1.78** | | |
| 3554 | 201.2 | n.c. |
| 3557 | 192.1 | n.c. |
| **Gov't dble-opt linked** | | |
| 2001 | 306.1 | +1.6 |
| 2015 | 269.1 | +.5 |
| 2033 | 193.0 | —2.2 |
| **Dollar denom bonds** | | |
| Hollis 15 | — | — |
| Hollis 20 | 84.0 | n.c. |
| **Bonds 100% linked to foreign currency** | | |
| 5.5% Gov't 6026 | 191.4 | — |
| 6% Isr. Electric Corp. B | 1070.0 | +30.0 |
| 5% Dead Sea Works | 974.0 | +28.0 |
| **Bonds 7½% linked to foreign currency** | | |
| 6003 | 210.8 | |

# Bank of Israel exchange rates

| Currency | |
|---|---|
| U.S. dollar | 40.9700 |
| British sterling | 89.3761 |
| German mark | 21.8129 |
| French franc | 9.3721 |
| Dutch guilder | 19.9019 |
| Swiss franc | 23.0440 |
| Swedish krone | 9.3278 |
| Norwegian krone | 8.0594 |
| Danish krone | 6.9837 |
| Finnish mark | 10.5004 |
| Canadian dollar | 34.7159 |
| Australian dollar | 44.5139 |
| South African rand | 50.6225 |
| Belgian franc (10) | 13.5014 |
| Austrian schilling (10) | 30.4723 |
| Italian lire (100) | 4.6909 |
| Japanese yen (100) | 16.4538 |
| Jordanian dinar | 135.20 |
| Lebanese lira | 11.48 |

# CLASSIFIEDS

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| | Selling | Buying |
|---|---|---|
| U.S.$ | 41.1200 | 40.8200 |
| DM | 21.9248 | 21.7648 |
| Swiss Fr. | 23.1792 | 23.0101

Ari Rath
Editor and
Managing Director

THE JERUSALEM POST

Erwin Frankel
Editor

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Nissan 7, 5740 • Jamadi Awwal 7, 1400

## Goodwill needed

THE MESSAGE sent by President Sadat to Premier Begin on the subject of the autonomy talks has not yet been released for publication. We have not had access to it and neither, we suspect, have any of those pundits who hastened to dub it "unfriendly" and "harsh."

Perhaps, of course, it is just that. From the little that as has been divulged about the message it appears that the Egyptian president is trying to place on Israel's premier in advance all the blame for the possible failure of the negotiations on the grant of self-rule to the Palestinian inhabitants of Judea, Samaria and Gaza.

As every schoolboy knows by now, the target date for an agreement is May 26, but progress for the past ten months has been so unremarkable as to put in grave doubt the likelihood that it would be met. Unless, that is, some miracle occurs, or a heroic feat of diplomacy is performed.

Such an heroic feat was in fact performed at Camp David in September 1978, but its repetition this time around is not assured. Lightning doesn't strike twice in the same place.

To Mr. Sadat, it seems, missing the target date would spell *tragedy*. This is why he roused Mr. Carter, in the midst of a primary season, into holding an urgent demi-summit on the autonomy in Washington next month.

There is no mystery about the *reasons for* the Egyptian president's anxiety. *He is already hard put defending his policy* of separate normalization with Israel against the onslaught by a die-hard opposition of both left- and right-wingers at home, a rejectionist front of Arab foes abroad who seek nothing less than his head, once-friendly Third World countries who now follow the rejectionist lead — and even sceptical western powers which simply must have a comprehensive peace right away.

Failure to achieve a decent measure of self-rule for the Palestinians — which is what he pledged to all and sundry — would be a severe blow to his prestige and credibility. To avoid it, Mr. Sadat is apparently not above publicly needling Mr. Begin, whose own support at home is at something less than a peak.

Mr. Begin's reaction to this Egyptian campaign has been one of cool reserve. The premier does not see any good reason to rush so intractable an issue as the autonomy into a premature conclusion. As far as he is concerned, if the talks drag on beyond May 26, it will be no tragedy. The new foreign minister, Yitzhak Shamir, heartily concurs as he is readying for his trip to the next autonomy session in Alexandria this week.

But they are both wrong. Perhaps it should be no tragedy — but the decision depends on Egypt as well as Israel. The analogy with the peace treaty, the signing of which was help up by a few months, is somewhat inapposite.

*Then* it was a matter of a few last kinks needing to be straightened out. *Now* it is a matter of an awesome gap which has not even started to be bridged.

Premier Begin knows what he wants from the autonomy: he is, after all, the — or an — author of the scheme. But what he wants is unattainable. His vision of Palestinian self-rule may encompass more and more Jewish settlers in Judea and Samaria, but the decision on Hebron he forced on the Cabinet yesterday — at the cost of splitting it almost down the middle — can only have heightened the new crisis with Egypt.

The crisis could at least be dampened by acceptance of the proposal put forward by Egyptian Premier Khalil for discussions of Israel's troop redeployment in the territories under the autonomy. That would be progress: and the Egyptians have made clear that it is progress they need by the target date, rather than an agreement signed and sealed.

Reportedly, Mr. Begin's reply to this idea is that Israel is not obligated, under the Camp David accords, to share its security concerns and calculations with anyone. But how else are Israel's "legitimate security concerns" to be given due consideration in negotiating "the details of a transitional [autonomy] arrangement," as stipulated at Camp David?

Not all Egyptian demands by any means are acceptable, or even worth much pondering. But President Sadat last week hinted at a possible way out of the present deadlock by suggesting that the intricate problems of Israel's settlements in the administered territories and its claim for water sources there be dealt with between Israel and the self-governing authority that is to be set up under the autonomy.

There is also the "Gaza first" idea for implementing the autonomy which the Israel military government seems to regard as a viable option and which Mr. Sadat is reported to have mentioned again in his message to Mr. Begin. Moreover, Israel had undertaken over six months ago to view favourably a suggestion by Egypt to remove the headquarters of the military government from the city of Gaza to a more remote and less populated location in the Gaza strip as a gesture of goodwill. Similar such moves in the West Bank, aimed at encouraging the local population to adopt a more positive attitude towards the autonomy option, were also not ruled out at the time.

Yet nothing happened in this direction since. Even if May 26 is only a target date and not a definitive deadline, there is still lots of ground to be covered to reach at least initial agreement on some of the major principles of autonomy. The remaining two months will require all the available resources of goodwill on both Israel's and Egypt's part to bridge the enormous gap.

# OPPOSITION ABROAD

**Do Peace Now's activities abroad further, or hinder, Israel's cause? The end-result is what counts, writes the *Post's* DAVID KRIVINE.**

THE DECISION by Peace Now to extend their campaign against the Israel government by sending emissaries on speaking tours abroad has aroused angry controversy.

It is difficult to fault them in principle, since other political groupings have been doing the same as far back as memory goes. Poalei Zion societies exist in all countries and are frequently addressed by Labour leaders from Israel. The Mizrachi organization has firm roots in the Diaspora, antedating the State of Israel. Tehiya is the latest political party to plan informational work overseas. If all of them, why not Peace Now?

The movement should be reassured: there is free speech for all. If others can spout ideology, so can Peace Now. The point at issue is something else, an internal policy problem that concerns the members themselves. What they should be asking is not whether their latest activity in foreign parts is legitimate, but whether it is a good thing.

Peace Now is a respected organization because it has got its priorities right. Dr. Israel Shahak, the chemistry professor at the Hebrew University, to take an extreme example, exploits the privilege of free speech to blacken Israel's good name in the four corners of the world. Peace Now is not like that. It believes in the Zionist purpose and wants to ensure the security and survival of the Jewish state. There would be no point in asking Shahak whether the speeches and articles he addresses to the gentiles harm Israel's interests, because he appears not to give a fig for Israel's interests.

Peace Now does, as its spokesmen keep stressing. Although they harshly criticise the government of Israel, they support the State of Israel. That is their aim and there is no cause to question their good faith. What must be considered is whether the end result of their activities is what they intended. Does their intervention really benefit the Israell cause, or does it set the country's fortunes back?

WE ARE TALKING of activities abroad, not at home. At home, opposition is part of the democratic process. Critics have a constitutional function to play in that they inform, enlighten and influence those who have a say in the elections. But the audiences abroad do not have the vote in Israel. What does this kind of political publicity do to them?

It is intended to reassure them.

The policies of this government are bad, Peace Now says, but take comfort — we are not all wrong-headed in Israel. Our movement opposes what has been done so far. We back another policy altogether. We are not in power, but if we were — or if those we support come to power at the next elections — you will be hearing a different tune from Jerusalem.

This kind of denunciation for foreign consumption is, it must be said, unusual. I do not know of any responsible political grouping in France or Britain or the U.S. which makes it its business to send delegations overseas to tell the world that their country's external policy is wrong and should be opposed.

By responsible political groupings I mean those that accept the constitutional process. In all democracies, the opposition recognizes the party in power as the government of the country for all purposes. Thatcher's cabinet is not only the government of the Tories, it is the government of Britain. Begin's cabinet is not only the government of the Likud, it is the government of Israel. To denounce its operations before a foreign audience would, in a more censorious age, have been considered a breach of loyalty.

Is such a breach ever permissible? It is permissible, and even mandatory when the government is unconstitutional, or has behaved illegally, or has — not to put too fine a point on it — gone mad?

THE BEGIN government was voted into office through free and fair elections, for a four-year term which expires in November of next year. It is not a dictatorship; it rules through parliament; it has never violated the laws of the land and has not subverted any of the country's constitutional liberties.

Is it mad? It certainly gives that impression. The incapacity of the administration to make decisions; the name-calling that goes on inside the political leadership, indeed within the cabinet itself; and the endless succession of blood-curdling *faux-pas*, — Eilon Moreh, Bassam Sha'ka, Hebron, David Levy's egregious land expropriations in Jerusalem and Arik Sharon's latest sputterings in New York — are enough to make any moderate-minded Israeli climb up the wall.

But these events, if we examine them closely, turn out to be mostly bluster. However silly the behaviour of the authorities may appear, it is not evil or barbaric. If the Jews were uprooting the Arabs from their homes and expropriating their farms and possessions, that could rightly be regarded as a disgraceful act. Peace Now would be entitled to make its protest heard so that all the world should hear.

But the government's bark is worse than its bite. Gush Emunim was forced to evacuate Eilon Moreh — because a court of law had found that the land was Arab property, even though no Arab lived on it or tilled it.

All cultivable land in the administered areas is Arab-occupied. The rocky wastes that are left cannot be made viable with the limited funds and manpower available. Jewish settlement across the "Green Line" — other than in the stretch running south of Jerusalem through Gush Etzion and up the Jordan Valley (which was built up under Labour) — is much ado about very little. A delegation from the American Jewish Committee, who recently toured Jewish homesteads in the West Bank, disdainfully dismissed what they saw as (to quote their vivid New York phraseology) "no more than a mobile crap game."

LIKUD LEADERS act mad sometimes, but their policies are not so mad. They are accused of being imperialistic, and sometimes they sound it; but they did give up all of Sinai, including the Rafiah approaches and the oil wells. It is amazing how little praise Israel has got for that.

All they claim is Eretz-Yisrael, or Palestine, which is a poky 24,000 sq. km. in size. It is the national home of the Jewish people; and yet they recognize that the Arabs who dwell in Judea, Samaria and Gaza are there as of right. The autonomy of this population is currently under negotiation.

The government is not good at expressing itself sensibly. It has no newspaper or organ of opinion — which, oddly enough, is to its credit. But when its members are challenged over the rationality of Arik Sharon's stratagems in the areas, their answer is that the issue at stake with the Great Powers is not the skimpy encampments he puts up. It is Gush Etzion and the Jordan Valley and East Jerusalem — and the entire Israeli presence beyond the "Green Line."

The world is pushing us back relentlessly to the old borders. The government is trying to negotiate a better deal, and that is not mad. Autonomy is a possible formula. The Egyptians have accepted it in principle. An agreed conclusion may well be reached by the deadline date of May 26 or perhaps a little later — which would not be mad at all.

Should such an agreement be achieved, it must surely be welcome to Peace Now. I venture to predict that it would be acceptable to the main opposition parties *whatever its contents*, provided that two signatures, not one, were appended at the bottom: the signatures of both Menahem Begin and Anwar Sadat.

As long as such a possibility exists, it is hard to understand why Peace Now feels obliged to strengthen the hand of the party on the other side of the bargaining table. If the truth be told, there is an element of madness here too, hardly less disturbing than the fulminations of Geula Cohen.

IF A SIGNIFICANT part of the Israeli population takes exception to the government's policy and does not stand four-square behind it but presses it to make bigger concessions than it envisages, then Carter and Sadat will quite reasonably raise their sights and demand more concessions than they originally intended. Is that what Peace Now wants?

A different situation would arise if the autonomy talks broke down. Peace Now would then have to decide why they had broken down. Did Begin offer too little — or did he really want the talks to fail all along?

This second postulate is altogether unlikely. Begin has put everything he has into this peace effort. Failure would bring the whole edifice of Camp David crumbling down, and the Egyptian peace treaty with it — this, after Israel has withdrawn from the greater part of Sinai.

Anyway, Israel has little choice. If the government is negotiating the hard way and not offering concessions with both hands, it is not out of intransigence. Israel no longer has the power to be intransigent. It does not matter what individual ministers think. The screws are on.

All the political blocs — the English-speaking world, the NATO powers, the Common Market, OPEC, the Soviet Bloc, the Third World — all are sitting on Israel's head to make her yield. The concentration of so much attention on a single issue must have its impact. As Professor Shlomo Avineri put it at a recent seminar, the autonomy treaty — if it is signed — will be closer to the Egyptian model than to the Israeli model.

Should Peace Now decide nevertheless that the reason why the talks broke down was insufficient flexibility on the Israeli side, it would be incumbent on them (and not only them) to do what they are doing now: apply pressure inside and outside the country to force the cabinet to change its stand, or to topple it and replace it with another.

WE HAVE NOT come to that. The problem at this moment is to minimize the dismemberment process which began with the evacuation of Sinai. The work of maximizing can safely be left to Carter and Sadat, aided by Giscard, Schmidt, Brezhnev, Khaled of Saudi Arabia and other world leaders.

The Begin government, what a Peres government would be in its place. As Meir Pa... hawkish chairman of the Foreign Affairs and ... mittee, once confided ... attempting to do in the interest of our country as we ... Dayan added a word of caution: "The difference between Labour in foreign policy is not essentials, but over the issues."

What Peace Now ... ing to Jews abroad is ... is bargaining not just ... but with the whole ... given up a great deal ... we shall give up ... too much, we shall ... for survival.

"True, our government is inarticulate, tactless, plain foolish. We should ... it at the next elections, but ... mistake: the problem will be no different with ... successors.

"Rally round, Jews ... you may be, for the future ... will affect the future ... our common purpose should emerge. Unity, secure and defensible ... needed ... building'

"The danger is not that we will be left with the whole world against us, with one exception. The danger is that we shall do too little. On this issue the interest of Likud, Labour, Peace Now, the American Jewish Committee and all good Jews the world over is one and the same. Let us back the efforts of those advocates at the negotiating table. They are the advocates of our common sense."

## READERS' LETTERS

### LIFE ON A KIBBUTZ

*To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post*

Sir, — As an American serving as a volunteer on Kibbutz Gvar-Am near Ashkelon, I am privileged to work and live with some of the most beautiful people I've ever known. Some kibbutzniks here criticize themselves and other Israelis for losing some of the idealism and pride of the old days. But the spirit and sense of family I see here is far superior to what I've seen anywhere else.

Young Israelis thinking of emigrating to the U.S. should think twice about such a move. Are you prepared to live in a great department store, bombarded day and night by appeals to buy, buy, buy? Are you prepared to forfeit your life for a credit card? Are you prepared to be enslaved by a home and auto in the great American pastime of "keeping up with the Joneses"?

True, picking grapefruit and a lot of unfun jobs can wear down one's spirit, but, on the other hand, it can also reduce egos that badly need slimming down. I'd love to see a U.S. Congressman or general washing dishes or unloading a truck with the rest of the boys. It could only do a world of good for everyone concerned.

*TOM CAHILL*

Kibbutz Gvar-Am.

## Dry Bones

Your signature is required on this petition.
Sign and get your friends to sign!

ELECTIONS NOW
Popular, Apolitical Movement for the Advancing of Elections to the Tenth Knesset
P.O.B. 16091, Tel Aviv, Tel. 655454 (Gefen)
We, the undersigned citizens of Israel from all walks of life and of all political views are concerned by the domestic and external difficulties facing this country today. In our opinion, these difficulties dictate a need to advance the elections to the tenth Knesset.

ELECTIONS NOW — THE ORDER OF THE DAY!

| No. | Surname and first name | Occupation | Address | Signature |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | | | |
| 2 | | | | |
| 3 | | | | |
| 4 | | | | |
| 5 | | | | |
| 6 | | | | |
| 7 | | | | |
| 8 | | | | |
| 9 | | | | |
| 10 | | | | |

1. The signed petitions should be sent to P.O.B. 16091, Tel Aviv, so that they may be submitted collectively.
2. Volunteers who wish to canvass for signatures should draw or duplicate copies of the petition. Copies of the petition may be obtained from the offices of the Movement.
3. Contributions should be sent to the offices of the Movement at the above address, made out to "Elections Now" and crossed "Payee only."

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